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REMEMBERING PAIN : SYRIAC HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE SEPARATION OF THE CHURCHES ([1])

Scholars have devoted much attention to the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD as seen by those who opposed its outcome, and particularly to the so-called "Monophysite" view of the event ([2]). In this study I am concerned with how the events of the Council and its aftermath affected the non-Chalcedonian view of history in the tradition of the west Syrian, *i.e.* Monophysite, historical chronicles ([3]). For the Monophysite historians who witnessed the separation of the dissenting churches from those that accepted the Council, the problem was how to clarify what was happening in their times. For their successors, the problem was how to remember what had happened : not simply how to explain their own history, but further, how to evaluate its meaning. Syriac Monophysite historiography from the sixth through the thirteenth centuries charts a dramatic change in its understanding of the

(1) I am indebted to Dr. Robin Anne Darling for help with sources and issues in this paper.

(2) A. GRILLMEIER and H. BACHT, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon : Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Würzburg, 1951-4), 3 Vols. ; W. A. WIGRAM, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London, 1923 ; repr. New York, 1978) ; W. H. C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement : Chapters in the history of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1978) ; S. P. BROCK, "The Orthodox-Oriental Orthodox Conversations of 532", in *Apostolo Varnavo*, t. MA (1980), 219-28 ; R. CHESNUT, *Three Monophysite Christologies : Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford, 1976).

(3) Studies in the Syriac chronicles have not been plentiful. See R. DUVAL, *La Littérature Syriaque des origines jusqu'à la fin de cette littérature après la conquête par les Arabes au XIIIe siècle*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1907 ; repr. Amsterdam, 1970), 177-205 ; S. P. BROCK, "Syriac Historical Writing : A Survey of the Main Sources", in *Journal of the Iraqi Academy* (Syriac Corporation), 5 (1979-80), 1-30 ; J. M. FIEY, "Les Chroniqueurs Syriaques. Avaient-ils le sens critique ?", in *Parole de l'Orient*, 12 (1984-5), 253-64 ; W. WITAKOWSKI, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre. A Study in the History of Historiography*, in *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia*, 9 (Uppsala, 1987).

separation of the churches. A striking aspect of this change is the resolution of the strong millenarian sense carried within early Monophysite testimonies to Chalcedon's aftermath.

The formation of separate ecclesiastical hierarchies and organizations was a gradual process. While the Council had evoked great unrest in the eastern empire as a whole, the immediate reaction had not been one of separation. Rather, at first the dialogue took place in the manner of two opposing political parties working within the same system. Throughout the fifth century the Council's acceptance had appeared unlikely, and under the emperor Anastasius (491-518) the Monophysites achieved their greatest successes : an emperor who acted with open sympathy to their theological views, and in 512 the consecration of Severus as patriarch of Antioch – a powerful victory for the Monophysites, long directed from the patriarchal seat of Alexandria.

This situation changed as soon as Justin I ascended the throne in 518 ([4]). Imperial favor turned decisively to Rome, and a pro-Chalcedonian stance was a major part of that shift ([5]). Severus fled from Antioch to seek refuge in Egypt, and in 519 the policy of persecution against dissenters from the Council began. These persecutions focused primarily on ecclesiastical leaders and monastic communities ([6]). The change in imperial alliance and the harshness of persecution hardened opinions on both sides of the Councils's decision. Efforts to maintain dialogue with a view to solving the rift continued sporadically, and especially under Justinian I (527-565), who wanted a theological solution to the situation ([7]). Futher discussions under Justin II in the early 570s proved fruitless. The impasse had been reached ([8]).

(4) P. MOUTERDE, "Le concile de Chalcédoine d'après les historiens monophysites de langue syriaque", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, I, 581-602 ; P. CHARANIS, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire : the Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518* (Madison, 1939 ; repr. Thessaloniki, 1974) ; A. A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First : An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great* (Cambridge, 1950) ; FREND, *Monophysite Movement.*

(5) In general, VASILIEV, *Justin the First.*

(6) In general, FREND, *Monophysite Movement* ; WIGRAM, *Separation.*

(7) P. T. R. GRAY, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East* (451-553) (Leiden, 1979).

(8) See FREND., *op. cit.*, 316-23.

In the meantime, however, the Monophysite laity found themselves struggling with a lack of leadership. The longer the persecutions continued, the more Monophysite bishops and clergy dwindled in number. Sometime before 527, Monophysite leaders in exile began to ordain priests to meet the needs of Monophysite communities that found themselves either without any priest at all, or with only a Chalcedonian priest available. Once these ordinations began, the situation rapidly became irreversible. By the 540s, Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Arabia were ordaining Monophysite bishops, and soon Jacob would consecrate patriarchs ([9]). In effect, an independent and autonomous church was being established ([10]). The practical situation of two different organizations running side by side did as much and perhaps more than doctrinal disagreement to corrode the possibility of change.

For the Monophysite historians, then, the events of the sixth century rather than Chalcedon's immediate aftermath in the fifth represented the process of separation, and in particular, those during the reigns of Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian. It was this period which received considerable focus in the historiographic tradition of the Syriac chronicles.

Starting in the sixth century, the Syriac chronicles comprised an impressive literary tradition, ranging from short lists of dates, events, and important people (emperors, patriarchs, saints) to long scholarly compilations that recorded history from creation to the writer's own day ([11]). Whatever their temporal scope, the Syriac chronicles focused particularly on local history : the world of the Syrian Orient – Syria, Mesopotamia, Osrhoene, and Euphratensia. For these eastern provin-

(9) WIGRAM, *op. cit.*, ch. 10 ; FREND., *op. cit.*, 255-95.

(10) For the whole process, see A. VAN ROEY, "Les débuts de l'église jacobite", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, II, 339-60 ; A. VÖÖBUS, "The Origins of the Monophysite Church in Syria and Mesopotamia", in *Church History*, 42 (1973), 17-26 ; W. H. C. FREND, *op. cit.* ; IDEM., "Severus of Antioch and the Origins of the Monophysite Hierarchy", in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 195 (1973), 261-75 ; and above all, E. HONIGMANN, *Évêques et Évêchés Monophysites d'Asie Antérieure au VIe siècle*, CSCO Sub. 2 (Louvain, 1951).

(11) WITAKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 76-89. For the larger literary tradition, see *Ibid.*, 59-75 ; and B. CROKE, "The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle", in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, Ed. B. Croke and A. M. Emmett (Sydney, 1983), 116-31.

ces, the reign of Anastasius initiated not only a short-lived sense of doctrinal and political triumph for the Monophysites, but also a period of extreme crisis. During the first half of the sixth century, the eastern empire experienced repeated natural calamities : earthquakes, floods, fires, comets, eclipses, locusts, famine, and plague (including bubonic plague) struck time and again ([12]). The situation was worsened by political events in the same territory equally catastrophic : wars between Byzantium and Persia, destructive incursions by Huns, and under Justin and Justinian religious persecution against the non-Chalcedonians ([13]). Syriac chronicles right through the middle ages record these events in lists as stark as they are sobering. The western empire shared some of these calamities, but did not suffer to the same extent.

What makes this situation arresting is the particular convergence of time and event. According to three prominent chronologies of late antiquity – that of Sextus Julius Africanus, that of the Alexandrian era, and that of the "Roman" or "Byzantine" era, the half millenium (500 years from the birth of Christ) fell in the reign of Anastasius I, early in the sixth century. More importantly, by each of these different chronologies, the sixth millenium from the creation of the world also ended at that point. The year 6000 was one of the key dates for millenarian views of the early church and that of the middle ages, corresponding to the sixth day of creation ([14]). Indeed, the events of the early sixth century in the Syrian Orient read in the chronicles as so many cosmic indicators of apocalyptic nature. Millenarian and eschatological views were a part of early Byzantine culture ([15]). Some

(12) See esp. E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, IVe-VIIe siècle* (Paris/La Haye, 1977), 74-92 ; S. ASHBROOK, "Asceticism in Adversity : An Early Byzantine Experience", in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 6 (1980), 1-11.

(13) PATLAGEAN, *loc. cit.* ; ASHBROOK, *art. cit.* ; VASILIEV, *Justin the First*, 344-53, 360 ff., 382-3 ; S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis : A Study in John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (forthcoming).

(14) A. A. VASILIEV, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World : West and East", in *Byzantion*, 16 (1944), 462-502, esp. at 466-70 ; WITAKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 59-75 ; and J. DANIÉLOU, "La typologie millénariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif", in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 2 (1948), 1-16.

(15) DANIÉLOU, *art. cit.* ; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Oracle of Baalbek : the Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 10 (Washington, 1967) ; B. MCGINN, *Visions of the End : Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York,

evidence remains to show that these events were occasionally incorporated into contemporary understandings of the ecclesiastical situation.

The chronological systems that set the year 6000 early in the sixth century were widely known, and fifth century writings from both the western and eastern ends of the Byzantine empire expressed forboding dressed in apocalyptic discourse, apparently with the approaching dates in mind ([16]). In the east, the onslaught of calamities that accompanied the turn of the sixth century tapped into this undercurrent of expectation. Fears of the end of the world, or of entering the End Time, were close at hand. *The Oracle of Baalbek*, produced in Syria just prior to 510 (perhaps as early as 504) ([17]), expressed an eschatological reading of history in which the author expected the reign of Anastasius to be followed by the End Time ([18]). In the view of this text, the key indicators of this situation were the calamities of the second half of the fifth century and the early sixth, and the Persian-Byzantine war that started in 502. No specific identification to the Christological conflict is made as part of the crisis period, but the text seems to be related to the traditions following the chronological significance of the year 6000 ([19]).

In fact, sixth century Monophysite sources do *not* note this idea about the year 6000, but they do display extreme sobriety and even fear regarding the history they record. The most eloquent example is the *Chronicle of 'Joshua the Stylite'* written early in the sixth century, concerned with Amida and Edessa between 495 and 506 ; it records this region's experience of drought, locusts, plague, famine, and the Persian-Byzantine War during this short period ([20]). The author states from the start his own view of the situation : the common Christian theme that catastrophes are punishment for the sins of the people.

1979) ; R. D. SCOTT, "Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justinian's Propaganda", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), 99-109, esp. at 107-9.

(16) ALEXANDER, *op. cit.*, esp. 48-66 ; MCGINN, *op. cit.*, esp. 51-5. To the examples noted in these studies, add, *e.g.*, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle*, VIII.v and IX.v, where he is quoting contemporary sources.

(17) ALEXANDER, *op. cit.*, 41-2.

(18) *Ibid.*, 110-1 ; cf. the text at lines 136 ff. (p. 17).

(19) *Ibid.*, 119-20.

(20) JOSHUA STYLITES, *Chronicle*, ed. and tr. W. WRIGHT (Cambridge, 1882). Translations given here are my own.

> "... these chastisements which have come upon us are sufficient to instruct us and those who come after us, and also to teach us by remembering and studying them that they were sent upon us because of our sins. But if they did not teach us this, they would be useless for us. ... For this is the whole point of humanity being chastised in this world, that they should be restrained from their sins, so that the judgement of the world to come should be less for them ([21]).

'Joshua' carries this theme prominently throughout his text, stressing that such events occur to awaken people to the reality of their spiritual condition ([22]). Hence for 'Joshua' the body mirrors the soul's state : disfiguring plague, for example, reveals a diseased soul that must be healed.

> "At this time (the year 494/5), health encompassed all our bodies, but the pain and sicknesses of our souls were many. But God who wishes for sinners that they should repent of their sins and live, made our bodies like a mirror for us. And ulcers filled all our bodies, that by means of outer appearance we would see what our inner part was like, and by means of the scars of our bodies we would learn how hateful were the scars of our souls. And as everyone had sinned, all were struck with this disease. For tumors and swellings were on all the people of our city and the faces of many were swollen and filled with pus, and they made a terrible sight. But there were others whose whole bodies were full of ulcers and pustules, even on their palms and the souls of their feet. And others had great holes in their various limbs" ([23]).

The most frightening aspect of the situation was the whole of which this plague was a part. 'Joshua' tells us the events of his time were so horrific that people did in fact think the end of the world had started. He felt constrained to comment at length on the relevant biblical passage of II Thessalonians 2 : 1-13, concluding that despite the severity of the times, the prophecies were not yet fulfilled ([24]). Nonetheless, he, too, acknowledged the extent of divine wrath here manifested :

> "But this according to what we know we say, that because of the multitude of our sins, our chastisements were continual. And if the

(21) JOSH. STY., *Chron.*, IV, pp. 5-6.
(22) *Ibid.*, VI, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XLVII, LXXXVI.
(23) *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 21.
(24) *Ibid.*, XLIX.

> guardianship of God were not bound round the world, that it should not be destroyed, doubtless the lives of all humanity would have vanished. For in what times did afflictions like these happen with such vehemence except in these in which we now stand ? And since their cause has not ceased, they, too, have not ceased until now. In addition to whatever we saw with our eyes and heard with our ears, and in which we stand, also rumors have frightened us from far and near, and horrors that happened in many places – terrifying earthquakes, the overturning of cities, famines and plagues, wars and seditions, captivity and depopulation of places, devastations and the burning of churches" ([25]).

For himself, our writer trusts in the goodness of God's purpose. "These things did not befall us because it was the latter time, but ... they took place for our chastisement, because our sins were great" ([26]).

The sense of cosmic significance was thus present, whether because of chronology, as for the *Oracle of Baalbek*, or because of the nature of current events, as seen in 'Joshua's' *Chronicle*. These perspectives were combined with the further factor of the ecclesiastical situation to produce the anti-Chalcedonian apocalyptic rhetoric of John Rufus' *Plerophories*, written shortly before 512, at the height of Monophysite influence, and quickly translated into Syriac ([27]). John's is a collection of anecdotes from oral history, with stories from the early fifth century and the time of Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia up to his own day. The stories are a series of prophecies, visions, and other divine showings testifying to the evil of Chalcedon and its proponents. Many contain overtly apocalyptic statements. The arrival of the Antichrist is repeatedly predicted : it would follow the time of Timothy Aelurus ([28]), or the reign of Marcian ([29]) ; it was imminent because of the state of the churches ([30]), or had been initiated by the Council of Chalcedon ([31]). Nestorius and Theodore died demonic deaths in divine punishment for their heresy ([32]). John himself tells a holy man,

(25) *Ibid.*, III, pp. 4-5.
(26) *Ibid.*, XLIX.
(27) *Jean Rufus, évêque de Maïouma, Plérophories, Témoignages et révélations contre le Concile de Chalcédoine*, ed. and tr. F. NAU, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 8 (1912), 5-208.
(28) *Ibid.*, VII.
(29) *Ibid.*, XII.
(30) *Ibid.*, XIII, XIX.
(31) *Ibid.*, XXVI, LXXXIX.
(32) *Ibid.*, XXXVI, XLV.

"I think this, that the time of the end is arriving, and you have been sent in witness for us, to announce this to the world in this place" ([33]). He treats extensively the prophetic passage from II Thessalonians 2 : 1-13, as a prediction of the arrival of the Antichrist and End Time now begun ([34]) – the very passage 'Joshua the Stylite' had addressed to the contrary.

But the apocalyptic mood was not sustained. As events in the Monophysite east worsened over the following decades, John of Ephesus and the Syriac continuator of Zachariah Rhetor in their *Ecclesiastical Histories* viewed the ongoing calamities as signs of God's wrath ([35]). While one can read these texts as implying that the wrath was in response to the concurrent separation of the churches, they may also be read in the tradition of 'Joshua the Stylite', attributing the chastisement to a general state of sin. The authors themselves do not make overt connections between the calamities and the separations, and the year 6000 is not mentioned. On the other hand, some scholars have suggested that Procopius' *Secret History* may reflect the survival of the millenarian view, presenting Justinian's reign as the arrival of the Antichrist ushering in the End Time ([36]). Certainly, there

(33) *Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, pp. 143-4.

(34) *Ibid.*, XXVI, LXXXIX.

(35) JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as preserved in PS.-DIONYSIUS OF TELL-MAHRE, *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, II, ed. J. B. CHABOT, CSCO, 104/Scr. Syr., 53 (Louvain, 1933 ; repr. 1965) *e.g.*, at pp. 47-50, 79-100. For the identification of these passages as John of Ephesus, see F. NAU, "Analyse de la seconde partie inédite de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie, patriarche jacobite de Constantinople", in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 2 (1897), 455-93. PS.-ZACHARIAH RHETOR, *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, ed. and tr. E. W. BROOKS, CSCO, 83/Scr. Syr., 38, 84/39, 87/41, 88/42 (Louvain/Paris, 1921-9) ; Eng. tr., *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899 ; repr. New York, 1979), VII.IV, VII.XIV, X.IX, XII.V.

(36) The passages at issue are in PROC., *Secret History*, XII.14, 20-4 ; XVIII.1-4, 36-7 ; XXX.34. The major analysis, treating Procopius within the literary traditions of demonology and apocalypticism, was done by B. RUBIN, "Der Fürst der Dämonen", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1951), 469-81 ; IDEM., *Das Zeitalter Justinians* (Berlin, 1960), 441-54 ; IDEM., "Der Antichrist und die 'Apokalypse' des Prokopios von Kaisareia", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 110 (1961), 55-63. Cf. also K. GANTAR, "Kaiser Justinian als kopfloser Dämon", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 54 (1961), 1-3 ; and the suggestive material raised by SCOTT, *art. cit.*, 108-9. Averil Cameron has countered this interpretation

does not seem to be a parallel carry-over of apocalyptic tradition in the later sixth century Syriac historians.

A second historiographical stage may be seen in the Syriac chronicles that follow into the middle ages, those of the 7th through 9th centuries ([37]). These continue to record the lengthy lists of calamity for the sixth century, but with little if any reflection on their meaning. The anonymous *Chronicle to the year 846* mentions (for the first time in the west Syriac chronicles) that the year 6000 was an important date, but the writer does not connect its arrival with the events of the same time ([38]). A major feature of these middle chronicles is their refusal to see causality by connecting political, religious, and natural events. Here events are related to one another only coincidentally.

These middle chronicles are texts written well after the separation of the churches had become a given situation. In their recording of church history, these chronicles list bishops of major cities and all five traditional patriarchates (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) down to the seventh century, identifying those hierarchs who were heretical (Chalcedonian) and those who were orthodox (Monophysite). It is not until the chronicles reach the reign of Heraclius (610-641) that they record only Monophysite bishops and patriarchs, and cease to connect them with particular cities – the pattern of the Monophysite hierarchy down through the

by arguing that Procopius here uses a deliberate historiographical literary device that makes sense within the confines of his own work ; and points out that he does not in fact employ eschatological language. A. CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985), 56-9.

(37) *Chronicon Edessenum*, ed. and tr. I. GUIDI, CSCO, 1/Scr. Syr. 1 and 2/2 (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-13 and 1-11 (respectively) ; JACOB OF EDESSA, *Chronicon*, ed. and tr. E. W. BROOKS, CSCO, 5/Scr. Syr., 5 and 6/6 (Paris, 1905), pp. 261-330 and 197-258 ; *Chronicon Anonymum*, ed. and tr. I. GUIDI, CSCO, 1/Scr. Syr. 1 and 2/2, pp. 15-39 and 13-32 ; *Chronicon Anonymum ad annum 724*, ed. E. W. BROOKS and tr. J. B. CHABOT, CSCO, 3/Scr. Syr., 3 and 4/4 (Paris, 1904), pp. 77-155 and 61-119 ; *Chronicon Anonymum ad annum Christi 819 pertinens*, ed. A. BARSAUM, CSCO, 81/Scr. Syr., 36 (Paris, 1920), pp; 3-22, and tr. J. B. CHABOT, CSCO, 109/Scr. Syr. 56 (Louvain, 1937), 2-16 ; *Chronicon Anonymum ad annum Domini 846*, ed. and tr. E. W. BROOKS and J. B. CHABOT, CSCO, 3/Scr. Syr., 3 and 4/4 (Paris, 1903), pp. 157-238 and 123-80 ; *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. and tr. J. B. CHABOT, CSCO, 91/Scr. Syr., 43 (Louvain, 1927), 121/66 (1949), and 104/53 (1933 ; repr. 1965).

(38) *Chron. ad annum 846*, CSCO, 3/3, p. 218 (4/4, p. 166).

present day ([39]). The shift in structural arrangements appears in these chronicles without remark, and without any sense of a changed religious situation ([40]). Again, the lists are given without reflection on their significance.

At the same time, this period witnessed the emergence of a specific Syriac literary tradition of apocalyptic writing, one that would produce deep influence on Byzantine and western apocalyptic thought. By far the most important of these works was the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, composed at the end of the seventh century and destined to mark all subsequent medieval apocalyptic literature ([41]). Other works, most notably the Syriac *Legend of Alexander*, its poetic version falsely attributed to Jacob of Serug, and a pseudo-Ephremic discourse *On the Last Judgement*, partook of and contributed to the same literary tradition ([42]). But this group of texts came into full form directly in response to the Muslim conquests. Here, indeed, was an event that altered history, and deeply shook Christianity's own sense of history. Happening at the very time Christianity had appeared universally triumphant, the advent of Islam offered Christianity a religious and political enemy of unparalleled scale ([43]). For the Syriac churches, the

(39) The Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, for example, is currently seated in Damascus.

(40) Cf. esp. Jac. Ed., *Chron.*, 1/1, pp. 317-8, 322-5 (2/2, pp. 239-40, 244-9) ; *Chron. ad annum 846*, 3/3, p. 224 (4/4, p. 171) ; ps.-Dion., *Chron.*, 104/53, pp. 110-1.

(41) F. J. MARTINEZ, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period : Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph. D. Diss. Catholic University of America, 1985 (Ann Arbor, 1985) ; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. D. de F. Abrahamse (Berkeley / Los Angeles, 1985), 13-60 ; MCGINN, *op. cit.*, 70-6. Alexander's work on Pseudo-Methodius is highly problematic in its treatment of this work in the context of Syriac literary tradition. It has received serious correction not only in Martinez, *op. cit.*, but more specifically in G. J. REININK, "Die Syrischen Wurzeln der mittel alterlichen Legende vom römischen Endkaiser", in *Non Nova, sed Nove. Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés a W. Noomen*, ed. M. Gosman and J. van Os (Gröningen, 1974), 195-209 ; IDEM., "Ismael, der Wildesel in der Wüste. Zur Typologie der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 75 (1982), 336-44 ; IDEM., "Der Verfassername 'Modios' der syrischen Schatzhöhle und die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius", in *Oriens Christianus*, 67 (1983), 46-64.

(42) MARTINEZ, *op. cit.* ; S. P. BROCK, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History", in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976), 17-36, esp. at 33-6.

(43) See the discussion in MCGINN, *op. cit.*, esp. at p. 34.

immediate crisis was now the survival of its faith in the face of Islamic domination. Apocalyptic discourse provided a means of explaining history that looked to an ultimate and divinely triumphant fulfillment of God's purpose, in which even the apparent demise of the church played a crucial role ([44]).

In such a charged situation, the separation of the churches was shown to be an internal matter for Christians alone. Although it determined Christian self-definition, even this division was superceded when it came to confronting the reality of Islam. Nonetheless, despite these circumstances, apocalyptic views did not work their way into the middle Syriac chronicles even in their recording of the Muslim conquests. Nor did the separation of the churches play a part in the historical schemes worked out by the apocalyptic writers.

It is not until the late 12th century, with the *Chronicle* of the patriarch Michael the Syrian, that we arrive at a view that integrates the spectrum of earlier understandings ([45]). It is Michael who at last draws the disparate pieces together, for a third (and final) stage in the historical understanding of the separations. Here, events are interconnected. Michael takes for granted that calamity is caused by sin. But he takes this position further than 'Joshua the Stylite' and his contemporaries had. For Michael, natural and political disasters – famine and plague, war and persecution – are the result of ecclesiastical crisis ([46]). Not only does the state of the body mirror the state of the soul, as in 'Joshua the Stylite', but the temporal world mirrors the state of the church, just as the spiritual realm mirrors God's kingdom. The convergence of disasters at the turn of the sixth century in Michael's *Chronicle* is indicative of the heightening crisis in the church as it moved toward independent organizations. The intensity of disaster came concurrently with the tragedy of irrevocable separation ([47]). For

(44) S. P. BROCK, "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam", in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale, 1982), 9-21, 199-203 ; MARTINEZ, *op. cit.*, MCGINN, *op. cit.*., esp. 30-6.

(45) *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J. B. CHABOT (Paris, 1899-1905), 3 Vols.

(46) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, Bk. IX, *passim.*

(47) *Ibid.*, IX.XXXII provides keen awareness as to the cumulative human cost of such an unbroken period (more than 40 years) of calamity, in recounting the Plague of Madness that struck Amida, Constantina / Tella, and Carrhae / Maiferqat in 560. See ASHBROOK, *art. cit.*

Michael, the calamities both portended the ruin of the church and resulted from it. Thus a comet appearing at the beginning of Justinian's reign attested to the present state of affairs – the meaning of the turn to a deliberate Chalcedonian imperial policy – and to its consequences :

> "At the beginning of the reign of Justinian there appeared in the east a star in the likeness of a lance. The point of the lance was directed downwards, in menacing manner, and the rays were terrible ... Its view filled all the world with fear, by the frightening manner in which it was raised and appeared. It was the sign of apostasy, of the destruction and ruin of the church, which was on the point of arriving" ([48]).

Moreover, Michael addressed the riddle of the year 6000. After noting the sixth millenium and its arrival during the latter reign of Anastasius through the reckoning of three different chronological methods, he wrote, "That 6000 years must pass by, and that the transitory world must end, we know this and confess it. But when ? We do not know. We wait upon God who alone knows everything before it happens and [everything] which must happen" ([49]).

Michael's understandings of history, calamity, sin, and divine wrath extended to the Muslim conquests ([50]). Here, events reveal God's anger at human iniquity and weakness ; signs and warnings are revealed to admonish humanity of its state ; divine vengeance is wrought against God's enemies. But Michael incorporates no apocalyptic discourse into his interpretation of Islam's arrival or its significance. The result of such a view is that ultimately Michael sees history as humanity's responsibility, one for which humanity is constantly accountable before God. His profundity carries particular weight because Michael does not sever apocalyptic as historiographic interpetation from his own task as historian. In the case of the separation of the churches, for example, not only did he directly address the

(48) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, IX.VII (at p. 170). Cp. *ibid.*, IX.XVI, XXVIII, XXXIV ; X.VIII, IX, XV ; XI.III, IV.

(49) *Ibid.*, IX.XI (CHABOT, II, pp. 167-8) ; cp. the view of the early church, DANIÉLOU, *art. cit.* Bar Hebraeus, as is his wont, follows Michael in his history of this period, but without commenting on the chronological significance of the dates ; *Gregorii Bar Hebraei, Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. and tr. J. B. ABBELOOS and T. J. LAMY (Louvain, 1872), I, cols. 187-260, esp. at cols. 194, 200, 202.

(50) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, Bk. XI, *passim.*

problem of the year 6000, he also included an extensive summary of John Rufus' *Plerophories* in his text ([51]). But his comments curb the apocalyptic tone of John's testimony, despite the emphasis on the arrival of the Antichrist which Michael's summary retains. Michael tells us John's work proved that the Council of Chalcedon had taken place in anger against justice and because of "the abandonment of God" ([52]), and further, that the "great corruption" introduced by Chalcedon was "the work of Satan" ([53]). But he will not comment on John's eschatological preaching, and he does not extend John's testimony (or like understanding) into his treatment of the separations. As his comment on the year 6000 indicates, Michael believes in God's purposeful monitering of history, but he does not pretend to know that purpose ([54]).

Others came to share Michael's view of the separation of the churches, and the concurrent experiences of calamity. The anonymous *Chronicle to the year 1234* states a similar position independently of the patriarch : "From here and everywhere that the gospel of Christ had been spread, great evil on account of [the Synod of Chalcedon] followed ... persecutions, pillages, oppressions, forced seizure of property, expulsions, exiles, tortures, murders, general bloodshed. And instead of peace and harmony of the churches of Christ, they brought in wars and schisms and divisions" ([55]).

Michael and the chronicler of 1234 echo the view we saw in the contemporary sixth century texts, that calamity was present because of the state of the church. But these two historians had the advantage of considerable hindsight and the knowledge of consequences. In their recording of these events, the world had appeared to be falling apart

(51) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, VIII.XI.

(52) *Ibid.* (CHABOT, II, p. 69).

(53) *Ibid.* (CHABOT, II, p. 88).

(54) It is worth noting that the *Chronicle of Ps.-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre* preserves two apocalyptic passages relevant to our discussion : the episode, related to Ps.-Methodius, of Alexander the Great enclosing the unclean peoples behind the Caspian Gates, CSCO, 91 / Scr. Syr., 43, pp. 42-3 ; and a short summary of John Rufus' *Plerophories*, *Ibid.*, 214-20. Unlike Michael, however, the writer has not integrated these passages into his narrative overview.

(55) *Chronicon Anonymum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J. B. CHABOT and A. ABOUNA, CSCO, 81 / Scr. Syr., 36 (Paris, 1920), and tr. A. ABOUNA and J. M. FIEY, 354/154 (1974), I.XXXXVII (81/36, pp. 184-5, and 109/56, p. 145).

because the church had in fact been falling apart ([56]). The tragedy of Chalcedon had brought the world to tragedy. Nonetheless, history had taught a deeper lesson in this instance. The arrival of Islam set the Christian crisis in a certain, self-contained perspective. The demarcation of heresy and orthodoxy had altered as far as the Council itself was used as the criterion of faith, and the structures of the ecclesiastical organizations had changed as far as their locations and centers. The church itself had survived, divided in its larger identity and fractured further by internal fights among Monophysites and Chalcedonians alike ([57]).

Yet it did survive, and herein lies the difference in view that evolved over the course of the Syriac chronicle tradition. The sixth century Monophysite sources record the breaking apart of the church and what they saw to be the courageous but fragile work to keep 'orthodoxy', the True Church, alive. The medieval Monophysite chronicles record the succession of events and hierarchs with the conviction of continuity ; despite the stark period of upheaval, the True Church continued unbroken as it had from the start. For Michael as for his successors, these two perspectives are pointers to the real situation : the continuity of a fractured state, not the triumph of clear victory. Michael's question about the meaning of chronological time – the year 6000 – is also a question about the meaning of history. This is Christianity's dilemma : as Michael himself showed, one may record history's truth, but its meaning is known to God alone.

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(56) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, IX.XII (esp. at CHABOT, II, p. 170) ; *Chron. ad 1234, loc. cit.*

(57) MICH. SYR., *Chron.*, X, *passim*, and XI.XVIII (esp. at CHABOT, II, p. 487).

NAVAL HISTORY AND NAVAL TECHNOLOGY IN MEDIEVAL TIMES THE NEED FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES (*)

The approach towards a universal history is a dominant contemporary trend. The tendency to examine the family of mankind within its broadest context has led to many studies on the relations between the Graeco-Roman world and the East as far as Central Asia, China, Africa and the Persian Gulf (1).

This universal approach to history is beset with many obstacles because of the great variety of literary sources which are also written in different languages (2). In spite of such difficulties it is an urgent task for modern scholars to revitalize their approach to history with such endeavours, a task which has often been undertaken with success.

A conspicuous example of a complex subject which requires such a universal approach is Arab seafaring in Middle Ages, which is interwoven with the general topic of seafaring in the Mediterranean. In addition to the difficulties of the sources – Arabic, Greek, etc. – the need for a certain knowledge of the relevant nautical technology increases the difficulties.

Fortunately some general manuals on Mediterranean seafaring shed enough light on the maritime activities of the Arabs, as for example, the classical work of Hélène AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), where in addition to the numerous references on the Arabo-Byzantine struggle on the sea there are some important passages on nautical technology of the time (3). While Ahrweiler's book approa-

(*) I would like to thank Prof. F. van Doorninck for reading this paper and offering some valuable advice and Miss Hélène Condylis for her suggestions.

(1) See for example J. VOGHT, *Wege zum historischen Universum* (1961); A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973.

(2) W. SCHMITTHENNER, "Rome and India: Aspects of Universal History during the Principate", in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 69 (1979), 91 ff.

(3) See in particular the first and second appendixes of Hélène AHRWEILER, *Byzanze et la mer*. Paris, 1966, "Les équipages", 307 ff. and "Catégories et types

ches the Arabo-Byzantine relations in the sea from the Byzantine point of view, a rapprochement from the Arab side appears in a collective work, published by the University of Alexandria, *Ta'rīkh al-Baḥrīyah al-Miṣrīyah* (Alexandria, 1973). Unfortunately many technological problems concerning the construction and function of Arab ships, merchant as well as warships, are only briefly treated in the above book (4). In general we know far less about Arab ships and their activities in the Eastern Mediterranean in medieval times than about Byzantine ships (5) and those of the Italian cities (6) and Al-Andalus (7).

In spite of the lack of thorough knowledge concerning Arab ships, it cannot be argued any longer that the Arabs remained through the Middle Ages camel drivers who never learnt how to sail, save for piratical hit-and-run raids and that their ships, made of rotten, green wood of inferior quality, reached the bottom of the sea before they approached the enemy (8).

de navires", 408 ff. ; important material for the Arab seafaring is also found in Hélène ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Études d'histoire de Byzance à propos du 'Thème des Caravisiens'*, Paris, 1966.

(4) *Al-Baḥrīyah*, 394 ff. ; D. NAKHĪLĪ, *As-Sufun al-Islāmiyah*, Alexandria, 1979, deals mainly with the etymology of naval terms ; G. F. HOURANI, *Arab Seafaring*, New York, 1975, is restricted to the Arab ships of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean ; the recently published book by ḤASAN ṢĀLIH SHIHĀB, *Fan al-Milāḥah 'Inda al-'Arab*, Beirut, 1982, deals mainly with the winds and the various times of sailing ; A. M. FAHMY, *Muslim Naval Organization*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1966, is now obsolete. A short discussion on Arab seafaring appears in my articles "Milaḥa" in the 2nd edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (in print), and "Moslem Navies" in the *Dictionary of Middle Ages* 9 (1987), 73-78.

(5) There were some important papers on Arab and Byzantine seafaring in the conference *La navigazione mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 14-20 April 1977). Specific references to a number of them appear in the present study.

(6) For the ships of Western Europe see J. H. PRYOR, "The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships : A Reconstruction of some Archetypes for Round-hulled Sailing Ships", Part I, II, III, *The Mariner's Mirror*, 70 (1984), 171-220 ; 275-292 ; 363-386.

(7) There are numerous works written by competent Spanish scholars about the naval activities of al-Andalus, suffice to mention here F. MORALES BELDA, *La marina de Al-Andalus*, Barcelona, 1970 ; and J. VERNET, "La navegacion en la alta edad media", Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, *La Navigazione Mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo*, 25 (Spoleto, 1978), 323-388.

(8) E. EICKHOFF, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland*, Berlin, 1966, 135. B. M. Kreutz in her thorough and comprehensive article, "Ships,

The Arabs were among the first to sail the Indian Ocean ([9]), and their vessels, as A. Villiers who sailed in their ships in the Red Sea round the coasts of Arabia, characteristically stated, are "almost the last unspoiled fleet of pure sailing vessels left in the world" ([10]). The close relations in the earlier times between the Arabs of the Red Sea and the Arabized Persians of the Persian Gulf with India are manifested in the Arabized Indian words concerning navigation, aromatics and medical herbs ([11]).

The maritime regions of the Arabian peninsula, i.e., Ḥijāz, Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, Oman and the Baḥrayn islands, developed maritime relations with India, the Lacadive and Maldive islands and Ceylon long before the Greeks were engaged in trading traffic with these areas ([12]).

The Arab type of vessel of the Red Sea and of the Persian Gulf, which could also sail to India, possessed certain distinct characteristics that had remained almost unchanged from pre-Islamic times until the coming of the Portuguese (15th c. A.D.), and with few modifications, have survived till the present day. The most conspicuous characteristic of these vessels, known as dhows ([13]), was their construction by stitching without the use of any iron nails. The outside planks were mainly sewn on the outside with cord and no ribs or frames were used for the small vessels while the ocean going big vessels must have had ribs lashed in last, after the boat was built ([14]) (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

Shipping and the Implications of Change in the Early Medieval Mediterranean", in *Viator*, 7 (1975), 94 ff., does not accept in general Eickhoff's view, although she does take as valid certain of his disputable arguments. She properly takes into consideration nautical archaeology, in particular the Byzantine shipwreck of the seventh century at Yassi Ada, but the new discovery of Serçe Liman which is discussed later in this paper, was not yet known at the time she wrote this article.

(9) S. Q. FATIMI, "In Search of a Methodology for the History of Muslim Navigation in the Indian Ocean", in *The Islamic Quarterly* (1978), 43.

(10) A. VILLIERS, *Sons of Sindbad*, London, 1940, 3.

(11) S. M. YUSUF, "Al Ranaj: The Route of Arab Mariners across the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam in the 3rd and 4th Centuries A.H. 9th and 10th Centuries A.D.", in *Islamic Culture*, 29 (1955), 77.

(12) N. AHMAD, "The Arabs' Knowledge of Ceylon", in *Islamic Culture*, 19 (1945), 224-225.

(13) For the various types and names of sewn boats see N. CHITTICK, "Sewn Boats in the Western Indian Ocean and Survival in Somalia", in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 9[4] (1980), 308, note 6.

(14) *Ibid.*, 299 ff.

The timber of the hull was made of one of the best types of wood for the construction of ships, *i.e.*, the Malabar teak of India (techtona grandis). From the coconut trees of India, cordage was made and coconut fibre was the best for fitting out the ships. The Arab medieval dhows were square-ended – the transom stern type appears after the 15th century – with a graceful, overhanging long raking stern. Today the dhows of the Persian Gulf are about eighty feet long and the snout-like stern has been preserved ; they are equipped with a high stern and poop deck ([15]). A comparison between an illumination of the Ḥarīrī manuscript (13th c. A.D.) and present day dhows leave no doubt about the linear development of the latter (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

The only noticeable difference between the medieval ships and modern sewn boats is the angle of the stern which is smaller in the latter ([16]). Moreover, while modern, big, ocean going Arab dhows are also three-masted, sometimes equipped with supplementary masts (Figs. 2, 4), the limited evidence of Arab iconography does not reveal such a rig, while Ibn Mājid refers solely to double masted vessels (shirā'yn) ([17]).

Of course we must take into consideration that sewn boats have been of various types and sizes. Some primitive boats, which were constructed at least till recently in Kuweit, were made of date-palm stalks, tied together with strings ([18]) (Fig. 5). Most probably the Sudanese tribe of Blemmyes used such type of catamarans in their raids against the monasteries of Sinai (ca. the 5th-6th c. A.D.) ([19]). Bigger boats were also made as sewn boats, with or without ribs, with a flat bottom and planks set together in carved style, while a resinous material, a mixture of tallow and lime, was added to strenghten the

(15) G. HOURANI, *Arab Seafaring*. Princeton, 1951, 89 ff. W. CLEMESHA, "The Early Arab Thalassocracy", in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 52 (1943), 114-116, 122.

(16) R. LE BARON BOWEN, "Primitive Watercraft of Arabia", in *American Neptune*, 12 (1952), 213.

(17) Aḥmad BEN MĀJUD, *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Baḥr wa'l' Qawā'id*, Moscow, 1984, 8v, 2 ; 32v, 10 ; 50r, 13 (quoted IBN MĀJID).

(18) See references to such vessels known as *shashas* in CHITTIK, *op. cit.*, 299 ; and R. LE BARON BOWEN, "Primitive Watercraft of Arabia", 197.

(19) V. CHRISTIDES, "Ethnic Movements in Southern Egypt and Northern Sudan : Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.", in *Listy Filologické*, 103^3 (1980), 130.

members ([20]). After the fifteenth century a massive use of iron nails was added without great change in the shape of vessels ; such ships are called by Ibn Mājid "*mismāriyyāt*" (from mismār = iron nail) ([21]). Rudders in small boats were rather fragile while the ones in the big size vessels are strong and well built. Moreover, Ibn Mājid also mentions the use of two steering oars (*miqdhāfayn*) instead of the rudder ([22]).

The technique of sewn boats has been considered by many Arab authors as ideal for sailing in the treacherous waters of the Red Sea and travelling in the Indian Ocean under the favourable winds, monsoon. But when the Europeans encountered these Arab vessels they scornfully described their destructable nature. It seems that Arab vessels when restricted to sailing with favourable winds, prudently avoiding the cyclonic month, were well suited for their trip to India ([23]). Of course the addition of nails and sheathing with metal had enhanced their efficiency but the cost of construction mounted substantially.

A very important feature which we notice in the Ḥarīrī manuscript is the clearly defined stern rudder. In ancient and later times while on river ships a huge oar was used to steer the ship, sea-going ships were propelled by double steering oars ([24]) (Fig. 6). Numerous literary references and artistic representations present ancient Greek and Byzantine ships moving with such double steering oars ([25]).

(20) For the construction of sewn boats, in addition to the works already mentioned, see B. GREENHILL, *Boats and Boatmen of Pakistan*, London, 1971 ; C. W. HAWKINS, *The Dhow*, Lymington, 1977 ; P. POMEY, "L'épave de bon-porté et les bateaux cousus de Méditerranée", in *The Mariner's Mirror*, 67[3] (1981), 225 ff. For a comparison of the Medieval Mediterranean and Red Sea vessels see my paper "Some Remarks on the Construction of Ships in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea in Medieval Times", to appear in the *Acts of the First International Symposium "Ship Construction in Antiquity"*, Sept. 1985, Athens.

(21) IBN MĀJID, 35r, 9.

(22) IBN MĀJID, 3r, 6.

(23) CLEMESHA, *The Early Arab*, 124 ff.

(24) The most impressive of the riverboats are the Egyptian vessels propelled by one gigantic oar. See for example J. B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East*, Oxford, 1958, Fig. 21.

(25) See V. CHRISTIDES, "Two Parallel Naval Guides of the Tenth Century: Qudāma's Document and Leo VI's Naumachica : A Study on Byzantine and Moslem Naval Preparedness", in *Graeco-Arabica*, 1 (1982), 65 ff.

The invention of the post stern rudder which replaced the two steering oars, though its importance was wrongly underestimated by White as a reaction to its overestimation by L. des Noëttes and others, was of immense importance for the effective movement of the ships ([26]). It seems that this innovation was not caused by the tremendous increase in tonnage of the ships which we notice in medieval times – by the 12th century it reached the 300 tons – since some huge cargo ships could be easily moved with double steering oars in ancient times ([27]). Instead, as has been shown by A. W. Sleeswyk and L. Th. Lehman, the primary reason which caused this invention of the post stern rudder was the strength of its hinges ([28]).

The time and origin of the invention of the post stern rudder cannot be determined and have been a puzzling problem for scholars of nautical history ([29]). A depiction of a post stern rudder on a seal of Wismar, dating from circa 1250 (Fig. 7) is usually considered the earliest existing evidence of the use of the stern rudder along with a similar depiction in an illumination of a German commentary of the Apocalypse, dating from 1242 (Fig. 8). Another example of a possible single rudder is found in a relief of Winchester, dating from ca. 1180, but it is not clearly depicted. I have shown in an earlier work that Greek literary evidence points out to an earlier date – at least the 11th century – and in my opinion a systematic research of literary and iconographic evidence can prove an even earlier time ([30]). Such a research should include the iconographic evidence found in Coptic manuscripts and textiles. A cursory examination of the former reveals that in a Coptic manuscript dating from 1179-1180 A.D. – in addition to many illuminations depicting vessels with double steering oars – there is one with a possible depiction of a side axial rudder (Fig. 9). While a huge oar appears in the front side of the boat in the

(26) K. D. WHITE, *Greek and Roman Technology*, London, 1984, 149 ; L. DES NOËTTES, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, Paris, 1935.

(27) A. W. SLEESWYK and L. Th. LEHMAN, "Pintle and Gudgeon and the Development of the Rudder : The Two Traditions", in *The Mariner's Mirror*, 68 (1982), 279.

(28) SLEESWYK and LEHMAN, 301.

(29) Sleeswyk and Lehman's work (note 27) greatly advanced the research for the origin of the post stern rudder, but there is still much iconographical and especially literary material to be studied.

(30) V. CHRISTIDES, "Two Parallel Naval Guides", 66.

above mentioned illumination, a protruding ⌐ shaped instrument could be considered as a side rudder. I believe that in this Coptic illumination we meet again the same type of primitive post stern rudder in ⌐ shape which appears in the illumination of the German Commentary of the Apocalypse. This rudder is loosely attached to the stern. It should be noted that the invention of the post stern rudder did not eliminate the use of the single steering oar for the riverboats and the double steering oars for the ocean going vessels (Fig. 6).

In general the Arabic illuminations, in spite of certain conventional and imaginative traits, offer us a clear idea of merchant ships sailing in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the lowest level appear a deck for the passengers-merchants and above it a second deck (Figs. 1, 10). Among them women are clearly depicted, and over the main deck a luxurious pavilion for the shipowner and/or his agent. It must be noted here that in medieval and even later times the same terms were used for shipowners and their agents in many languages, *i.e.* *ναύκληρος* in Greek, patronus in Latin, nākhūdah in Arabic, etc.

It is very interesting that in an illumination of the Ḥarīrī manuscript (Fig. 10) oars appear in the lowest level of the vessel; they were probably used in cases of emergency ([31]).

Certain peculiar structures also appear on the deck with functions difficult to understand, while very often the look-out man is also shown on a small box-like structure on the top of a pole, which often is the main mast of the ship (Fig. 1). The watch on board ship was a common practice in medieval and even later times, undertaken in turn by passengers and mariners. In the Byzantine sources a watchman was called *βιγλεοφόρος* or *βιγλάτωρ* ([32]). Such watchmen appear often in the artistic representations of the Far East.

It is noteworthy that in the representation of vessels in Arab illuminations the anchors are grapnels. The size of the mast appears in the medieval Arabic sources as long as in modern Arab dhows, *i.e.*, about 75 feet, with a displacement of about 100 tons ([33]).

(31) I discuss this problem in my paper "Some remarks on the Construction of ships", note 20 above.

(32) See *The Rhodian Sea Law*, ed. W. Ashburner, Oxford, 1909, rep. 1975, *λστ*, 10.

(33) G. R. TIBBETS, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Coming of the Portuguese*, London, 1971, 48 ff. Modern Arab dhows can be as light as 1-10 tons (būt) or reach 100-200 tons (būm); see M. LESOURD, "Notes sur les nawakhid;

We do not know which type of vessels the Romans, and later the Byzantines, used in the Red Sea. Perhaps certain of their Mediterranean-type warships were transferred there after they were dismantled or sailed through the Trajan canal, which led by the river Nile from Coptos as far as Clysma.

There is no doubt that the Romans in later times, as well as the Byzantines, avoided the construction of oar-propelled warships for the Red Sea. The disastrous experience of the Roman general Aelius Gallus, who is his expedition against Yemen (25 B.C.) built eighty vessels, biremes and triremes and light boats at Cleopatris (Clysma near modern Suez), then abandoned them and constructed 130 transport ships, most of which were sunk before they reached Leuke Come, taught them a lesson ([34]). But we do not know how they adapted their vessels and what type of crews they used. The crews were most probably multinational and experienced in sailing in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Perhaps we can also assume that the Byzantines used a system practiced later by the crusaders, as described by Ibn Jubayr ([35]). They built boats near the Red Sea, then carried them in parts on camels as far as the seashore, where they assembled the parts, nailed them and completed the shipbuilding work. Actually, the system of constructing parts of ships by the river Nile and then carrying them to the ports of the Red Sea where they were assembled was already practiced in Pharaonic times ([36]).

The maritime commercial activities of the Arabs started even before the conquest of Egypt. Expanding slowly towards India after their first expeditions, ca. 637, in the province of Sind, the Arabs had already established by the middle of the 7th century Moslem trade colonies on the West Indian coast ([37]). By the 8th century another Moslem

navigateurs de la mer Rouge", in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Arch. Naut.*, 32, ser. B, 25 (1960), 352.

(34) STRABO, 16.4.23, "... *ὀγδοήκοντα ἐναυπηγήσαντο δίκροτα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ φασήλους κατὰ Κλεοπατρίδα* ...".

(35) IBN JUBAYR, *Al Riḥlah*, ed. M. J. DE GOEJE, Leiden and London, 1907, 58.

(36) Abdel Monem A. H. SAYED, "New Light on the Recently Discovered Port on the Red Shore", in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 63 (1983), 23.

(37) See my paper "Navigation and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th-14th centuries)", to appear in the 4th volume of *Graeco-Arabica*.

maritime route was established, starting from Oman and/or the Persian Gulf and reaching Canton in China. A century later the Arab mariners dared to sail across the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam ([38]). Thus the flow of eastern merchandise was carried for many centuries by Arab vessels until the discovery of the route via the Cape of Good Hope and the arrival of Vasco de Gama.

While for the Arab vessels of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean some light has been shed, only scattered patches of information about the medieval merchant fleets of the Arabs in the Mediterranean can be discerned.

Arab authors take great pains to explain the etymology of the various types of cargo ships and only indirectly do we get glimpses of their function. Unfortunately, we also know little about the medieval Byzantine merchant ships.

It should be taken into consideration that the construction and function of warships were closely related to those of merchantmen. Of course, as A. Udovitch points, there is no doubt that effectiveness in battle was the primary target in the construction of medieval warships and no conventional financial restraints dictated their building ([39]), in contrast to that of the merchantmen, but there was a continuous interrelationship in the maritime technology of warships and merchantmen. Thus the sailing charts used by merchantmen were easily transformed into guides for war fleets in which additional military information about fortification was added. Likewise, inventions such as the post stern rudder, the lateen rig, the compass, etc., could be also transmitted. The technique of lauching Greek fire was also passed from the warships to merchantmen.

In general, as I believe, we can discern a trend of constant interrelations in the construction of ships and the function of the crews among all fleets of the Mediterranean between the 9th and 12th century. A typical example can be seen in horse transport vessels. It is a field in which both Byzantines and Arabs manifested an advanced technological development that was used mainly for military purposes. John Pryor, in a pioneering article dealing with this subject, has shown

(38) S. M. YUSUF, "Al-Ranaj", 78 ff.

(39) A. UDOVITCH, "Time, the Sea and Society: Duration of Commercial Voyages on the Southern Shores of the Mediterranean during the High Middle Ages", in *La Navigazione Mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1978, 505.

how at the end of the tenth century A.D., mounted Byzantine troops could land on horseback ([40]). Pryor traces the simple transport of horses by the Byzantines to 762 A.D., and by the Arabs to the tenth century ([41]).

Actually such horse transports started much earlier in Greece and the Near East. While in the 762 A.D. reference each Byzantine ship carried twelve horses, it is recorded that in the 4th century B.C. a Greek *ναῦς ἱππαγωγός*, rowed by 60 oarsmen, could hold 30 horses ([42]).

In the Near East there was a very ancient tradition of sea transportation not only of horses but also of wild animals. From Pharaonic times wild animals were shipped from Adulis to Egypt. In the Hellenistic period there was frequent mention of shipwrecks of elephant-carrying transport ships ([43]). In a Greek inscription of the 2nd century A.D. there is also a reference to the transportation of camels by ship ([44]).

In the Byzantine times, according to the Codex Theodosianus (4th c. A.D.), special care was taken for the transportation of wild animals, a difficult trip which would involve land and sea voyage from Sudan and Ethiopia to Egypt, before they were transported to Constantinople ([45]).

A number of artistic Byzantine and Islamic representations depict animals at the time of their embarkation. The transportation of a variety of animals, which were placed in two layers of decked compartments, is well illustrated in an Islamic illumination depicting Noah's boat ([46]).

(40) J. H. PRYOR, "Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades : Eighth Century to 1285 A.D., in *Mariner's Mirror*, 64 (1982), 10.

(41) *Ibid.*, 9.

(42) L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1971, 93.

(43) In an Egyptian relief, carved on queen Hatshepsut's tomb-temple, a fleet is depicted carrying various goods destined for Egypt, among which we notice cattle, monkeys and an alive panther. For this fleet see J. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, Chicago, 1906, 246-295.

(44) N. LEWIS, "On Timber and Nile Shipping", in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 9 (1960), 137.

(45) In the *Digesta*, XXXIX, 4, 16, there is a list of wild animals imported from Sudan : leones ... pantherae, etc.

(46) S. MAHER, *Al-Baḥrīyah*, Cairo, 1967, p. 465, fig. 68.

Concerning the transportation of horses for military purposes by the Moslems, there is at least one early reference during the time of Walīd (705-715). Muḥammad bn. Qāsim in his expedition against India transported a great number of horses from Oman to India ([47]).

The great technological improvement accomplished by Arabs and Byzantines was the construction of sophisticated vessels for the transport of mounted troops. The mounted cavalry would land fiercely, spreading terror among the defendants. Leo VI, who died at the turn of the 10th century, does not mention anything about such sophisticated transport ships. He emphasized the importance of the horse transport ships (*πλοῖον ἱππαγωγόν*) which he distinguishes from the ships carrying general cargo (*πλοῖον* [or *ναῦς*] *φορτηγόν*) ([48]). He considers them indispensable for the war fleets when they are in action because warships should be alleviated of any burden to operate efficiently. But without referring to any sophisticated horse transports, he suggests that horse and cargo ships should be well armed even with heavy machinery.

Concrete evidence about the landing of mounted troops is found in the Byzantine sources only at the time of Nicephoros Phocas disembarking on Crete (960). According to Leo Diaconos ([49]), "*κλίμακας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πορθμείων ἐπιφερόμενος, ταύτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἠϊόνα προσυφαπλῶν, τὴν στρατιὰν ἔνοπλόν τε καὶ ἔφιππον ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγρᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ξηρὰν μετεβίβαζε*". Leo Diaconos does not describe at any length the construction and function of Nicephoros Phocas' horse transports.

The number of horses each horse transport could hold varied. There is no doubt that as time passed an effort was made by Arabs, Byzantines and Westerners to increase the number of carried horses ; this, as was stated by Pryor, however was not the main aim. Speed and efficiency were the real targets. Leo VI's type of horse transport could continue to be used only when no serious resistance was anticipated from any defenders on the place it was to land. Otherwise, when mounted troops were to disembark on horseback, oared ships with

(47) See *Chach Nama*, trans. by H. M. ELLIOT and J. DOWSON in *The History of India*, London, 1875, repr. Allahabad, n.d., 167. For Muḥammad bn. Qāsim, see F. GABRIELI, "Muḥammad bn. Qāsim and the Arab Conquest of Sind", in *East and West*, 15 (1964-1965), 281-295.

(48) LEO VI, *Naumachica*, ed. A. DAIN, Paris, 1943, I, 11.

(49) LEO DIACONOS, ed. Bonn, 7. 20-23.

great mobility were necessary. In such case as is stated in the Taj al-'Arūs, the transport ship needed to be :

سفينة صغيرة سريعة السير و الجرى ،

(small ship swift in its course) ([50]). It is this type of ships to which the precise author Ibn al-Mamātī (12th c. A.D.) attributed a capacity of holding no more than forty horses ([51]).

While the shape of the horse transport is not mentioned in the Byzantine sources, the Arabic sources explicitly refer to them, illuminating some technical problems. These were vessels open on the stern with which they backed when they reached the land ; heavy locked doors would then open from where mounted troops disembarked ([52]). Leo Diaconos' information that special landing ramps were used in such disembarkations is verified by the 12th century author of the Crusades, William of Tyre ([53]) : "They [the horse transports] had bridges by means of which both men and horses might be more easily embarked and landed".

Disembarkation landing ramps, used by the Byzantines, appear in a number of illuminations. Thus to the illumination, reproduced by Pryor, of the disembarkation of the empress Constance from the stern of a galley, we can add that of the embarkation of Byzantine crews in the manuscript of Skylitzes (14th c. A.D.). Drawings of various types of ladders appear in a number of Arabic manuscripts ([54]).

The Arabic term *ṭarrīdah*, used originally in military context, was applied to various transport Arab ships and was also transmitted to

(50) Taj al-'Arūs, s.v. Ṭarrīdah.

(51) IBN AL-MAMĀTĪ, *Kitāb Qawānīn ad-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. ATIYA, Cairo, 1943, 339.

(52) The usual Arab attribute attached to ṭarrīdah is maftūhah al-muakhīr (open in the stern). In the Arabic sources ṭarrīdah is described as a warship, carrying horses, with locked doors ; when the time for landing came the doors opened and the horseriders mounted their horses and disembarked. See IBN AL-MANQALĪ, *Al-Aḥkam*, ed. 'ABD AL-RĀIUS, Cairo n.d., 38.

(53) WILLIAM OF TYRE, trans. J. H. PRYOR, in his article in *Mariner's Mirror*, 64[1] (1982), 18 "were fitted with large openings in the stern for greater convenience in loading and unloading the animals, and they also had bridges by means of which both men and horses might be more easily embarked and landed".

(54) *Khizānah as-Silāḥ*, ed. N. M. ABDEL AZIZ, Cairo, 1978, 72.

many other countries, including Byzantium, under various forms ([55]). It became one of the most common words of the nautical lingua franca reflecting the continuous interrelations of all Mediterranean people.

The fields in which both Byzantines and Arabs excelled in their technology were the science of navigation and the development of sea weaponry. Both shared the same Greek tradition which they developed independently, but with certain mutual exchanges. Moreover, the Arabs were greatly influenced by the Indo-Persian nautical tradition.

For the voyages to India, favourable winds – the monsoons – and clear skies encouraged stellar observation, and the Arabs had adopted and modified a sideral rose and used it for the measurements of the altitude of the Pole ([56]). Meanwhile based on the Greek *ἀστρολάβος*, they developed their own type of aṣturlāb, serving as an astronomical instrument for many theoretical and practical purposes, *i.e.*, the measuring of altitudes, casting or horoscopes, etc. ([57]). A large number of artistic aṣturlābs were made by skillful Moslem craftsmen.

More impressive was the Arabs' development of numerous types of war machines (manjanīq), described with many illustrations in a great number of treatises, most of which are still unpublished manuscripts.

The Arabs particularly excelled in incendiary weapons. Such weapons were already in use in ships of the Hellenistic types and reached an impressive momentum when the Byzantines perfected their efficiency creating the Greek or liquid fire. Its most conspicuous use by the Byzantines was in the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs in 674-678.

To say that the use of Greek fire had an impact similar to the use of an atomic bomb in an exaggeration ([58]), but there is not doubt that it was an outstanding improvement in the technology of maritime warfare. The Arabs were soon to follow, developing various types of Greek fire and methods of launching it. In spite of this fact, the Byzantine sources, ignore the use of Greek fire by the Arabs, while

(55) 'ABD AL-FATTĀḤ, "*Sufun al-Uṣṭūl al-Islāmī*", *Wilāl*, 21 (1912), 363.

(56) M. TOLMACHEVA, "On the Arab System of Nautical Orientation", in *Arabica*, 27 (1980), 183 ff.

(57) For astrolabes see the old but excellent study of W. H. MORLEY, *Description of a Planispheric Astrolabe Constructed for Shah Sultan Husain Safawi*, I, London, 1856, 1-49.

(58) H. R. ELLIS DAVIDSON, "The Secret Weapon of Byzantium", in *BZ*, 66 (1973), 61.

Arabic sources – historians, poets, authors, war manuals – describe at length the Arabs' efficient use of various incendiary weapons. Thus in the Arabic manuscript *Arnbaghā al-'Anīq* we can see clear drawings of arrows with fire spear heads ([59]). Such fire spear-headed arrows were used by mounted troops but special machines were also used for launching them, along with qarrūras, *i.e.*, fire bombs (Fig. 11). Similar fire bombs used in the Byzantine ships are also described in Leo VI's *Naumachica* ([60]), but only in a sketchy way, while in the Arabic sources there are lengthy descriptions of their content and function. A number of them have been preserved in various museums.

It is noteworthy that Leo VI gives only a sketchy description of launching "made up" fire from such tubes known as "*σίφωνες*", fearing that the enemy (*i.e.*, the Arabs) might get hold of his work. His fear proved to be justified since his whole work was translated into Arabic fragments which have been preserved by the 13th century Arab author Ibn al-Manqalī ([61]). The extent to which, for military purposes war manuals were translated and used by both Arabs and Byzantines remains a guesswork. Since both sides managed to capture whole warships with their crews no doubt few secrets of each other's technology would have been covered.

Byzantines and Arabs were almost equally equipped in war machinery and applied sophisticated naval tactics which closely resembled. A typical example is the use of the ram. Byzantines and Moslems abandoned the use of this formidable weapon of ancient times at about the middle of the seventh century. The naval battle of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī (655 A.D.) can be considered as the turning point in this change. The ram, now placed above the water level, reappears after ca. 1200 A.D., along with the guns as is shown in both Byzantine and Moslem iconography ([62]).

(59) *Khizānah as-Silāḥ*, 80.

(60) LEO VI, *Naumachica*, I, 61-64.

(61) V. CHRISTIDES, "Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th Centuries). An Arabic Translation of Leo VI's Naumachica", in *Graeco Arabica*, 3 (1984), 137-148. A full discussion of the Greek fire based on the Greek and Arabic sources will appear in a forthcoming book written by the present author with the cooperation of Professor T. Kollias.

(62) V. CHRISTIDES, "The Naval Battle of Dhāt aṣ-Ṣawārī A. H. 34/A.D. 655-656. A Classical Example of Naval Warfare Incompetence", in *Βυζαντινά* volume dedicated to Prof. J. Karayannopoulos, 13 (1985), 1331-1345.

In general there is no ground to support the view that the Moslems knew only hit-and-run attacks in naval warfare. Here we have to say a few words about the so-called Arab piratical activities. It is really utterly absurd to consider all Arab ships piratical at the time of their most glorious commercial enterprises. The Arabs in medieval times, like the Byzantines and the other Western nations, attacked enemy ships in case of war. Otherwise, for the smooth engagement of their own commercial enterprises they could not afford to apply a policy of navigation terror for short term profits. Of course, cases of private piracies were not uncommon in medieval times – they have even continued until the present day – but the participation of the Arab states in those piratical activities was no greater than that of other countries. It is for this reason, as various sources inform us, that armed soldiers were embarked on some merchant ships and in certain cases warships accompanied cargo ships and occasionally valuable cargo of important merchants, who usually held governmental positions, was loaded on the warships themselves ([63]).

Worst of all piratical accusations against the Arabs is the absurd comparison between the naval activities of the Arab fleets of the Emirate of Crete with those of the British privateers, whose actions were tolerated by Elizabethan England ([64]).

The Arab emirate of Crete is never mentioned in any Arabic sources as a center of slavery. It enjoyed an independent existence with a loose connection with the Sunnite 'Abbāsids. Actually even in the Byzantine *Life of Theoctiste* ([65]) it is stated that an official Byzantine visited Crete freely and returned to Constantinople after a successful enterprise.

Sea voyages for trade between the Moslems and the Byzantines started already from the time of Mu'āwiyah (655-661). In a rescript of Omar II (717-720) it is stated that no obstacles should be placed in the way of sea trade, a reference that as H. Gibb has correctly

(63) In the Geniza documents there are references to armed soldiers on cargo ships or convoys of warships, escorting merchant ships. In addition there are references to cargo loaded on warships in cases of war ; S. GOITEIN, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton, 1973, 98, 311-312.

(64) A. R. LEWIS, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean*, Princeton, 1951, 154.

(65) For the relevant passages of the life of Theoctiste, see V. CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens, 1984, appendix B, p. 211 ff.

understood, applied to the trade by sea between the Syrian ports and Byzantium (66). While this rescript explicitly admits the existence of some initial obstacles we cannot accept the frequently expressed view that in the early time of the Moslem conquests the famous Syro-Palestinian ports, from Latakia to 'Akka and Tyre, were transformed into simple military posts and that the flourishing trade between them and the Byzantine territories was disturbed.

True, Mu'āwiyah destroyed certain areas along the Syrian coastline and replaced many of the experienced local merchants and sailors with Persians, but he distributed fiefs to all inhabitants of the coastal towns which encouraged their military zeal and probably enabled them to engage in sea trade (67). An illustrating example is found in a narration of Nuwayrī in which a Tyrian soldier and merchant at the time of Mu'āwiyah appears visiting Constantinople, selling Persian embroideries (68). Apparently in spite of the constant raids of the Byzantines against the Syro-Palestinian coastal towns and those of the Moslems against the Byzantine islands, during the Umayyad period a modus vivendi of sea trade had been secured and cargo ships of both sides moved to each other's ports.

It is noteworthy that an important trade center for the Arabo-Byzantine exchanges was established at the time of the Umayyads in Cyprus. According to a special treaty between the Byzantines and the Arabs the island of Cyprus was neutralized from almost 688 until 965 ; but while military activities were banned for both parties, trade enjoyed full freedom and Cyprus became a meeting point for Arab and Byzantine cargo vessels and an entrepôt where Byzantine and Arab goods were freely unloaded (69).

(66) See H. A. R. GIBB, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, Boston, 1962, 57-58.

(67) V. CHRISTIDES, "The Coastal Towns of Bilād as Shām at the time of the Rāshidūn 632-661 A.D.", to appear in *Ἐπετ. Κέντρου Ἐπιστ. Ἐρευνῶν* (1988).

(68) NUWAYRĪ, *Nihāyāt al-'Arab*, VI, ed. Cairo (1966), 186-187.

(69) The most balanced study on Cyprus this period is R. BROWNING, "Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages", in *Ἐπετ. Κέντρου Ἐπιστ. Ἐρευνῶν*, IX (1977-1979), 101-116. See also Th. PAPADOPOULLOS, "Chypre, frontière ethnique et socio-culturelle du monde byzantin", in *Rapport. XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1976 ; C. P. KYRRIS, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus from the Middle of the 7th to the Middle of the 10th century A.D.", in *Graeco-Arabica*, 3 (1984), 149-175.

During the early 'Abbāsid period the trade activities of the Arabs were intensified. By that time a mercantile class of active Moslem shipowners and wealthy sea merchants developed as part of the new Near Eastern bourgeoisie. For their business transactions the Moslems formed partnerships, arranged for sureties, and organized maritime trade systematically ([70]).

In contrast to the creation of a class of wealthy Moslem shipowners, the Byzantine aristocracy invested mainly in land, and it was only in much later times when a great part of the Byzantine land was lost to the Turks that a numerous class of Byzantine shipowners, and sea merchants flourished ([71]). Nevertheless, the Arabic sources inform us that by the tenth century a large number of Byzantine ships were allowed to visit Moslem ports and their presence became particularly conspicuous in the tenth century. Ibn Ḥawqal writing at this period and fearing the connection between trade and spying laments for the frequent visits of Byzantine ships in the Syrian ports ([72]).

Actually by the tenth century an important maritime route was followed by both Byzantine cargo and warships, *i.e.*, the Attaleia-Ascalon itinerary. The Arab geographers report the maritime trade route Alexandria-Ascalon-Attaleia and Ibn Rustah in his account on Hārūn bn. Yaḥya records the Attaleia-Ascalon itinerary of Byzantine ships ([73]).

(70) A. UDOVITCH, "Commercial Techniques in Early Islamic Trade", in *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, ed. *D. Richards*, Oxford, 1970.

For the commercial institutions which prevailed in the Mediterranean in medieval times and the complex comercial networks created by the Italian cities, see J. H. PRYOR, "Mediterranean Commerce in the Middle Ages : A voyage under Contract of Commenda", in *Viator*, 14 (1983), 133-194, and C. VERLINDEN, "Aspects de la traité médiévale au Levant vus à travers des sources italiennes", in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 53-54 (1983-1984), 123-157.

(71) N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Montreal, 1979. See also A. E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, "The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period : A Collective Portrait", in *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 57 (1982), 105.

(72) IBN ḤAWQAL, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, trans. J. H. KRAMERS and C. WIET, Beirut and Paris, 1964, 193.

(73) T. LEWICKI, "Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut moyen âge d'après les sources arabes", in *La Navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 1977), 25 (1978), 468.

From the middle of the eleventh century new protagonists take the upper hand in naval affairs in the Mediterranean in both trading and warfare, *i.e.*, the Italian coastal cities Genoa and Venice, along with the Normans. In the twilight of the Byzantine and Arabic thalassocracy we notice an obvious Western European influence on both the Byzantines and the Arabs. Now the literary and pictorial evidence is multiplied, but it refers to a new stage beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

A considerable number of graffiti, about 100, on the walls of the church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond, depict various types of ships of the empire of Trebizond (1204-1461) ([74]). One of the most characteristic types of the represented ships is a two-masted lateen sail, equipped with oars, a variation of the Venetian *navis lucius*, known as a ṭarrīdah, which is clearly related to the previously mentioned transport ship. War galleys are also depicted in the graffiti, betraying Italian influence.

In the new period in which the Venetians and other naval western powers dominate, an important change in the recruitment and treatment of sailors is noticed ; now the Westerners recruit the crews of their galleys among the vagabonds, full of the lowest vices who sell themselves in their despair ([75]). These rowers are now ill-fed, chained, and suffered beatings and innumerable discomforts. Likewise, under the Fāṭimids and in later times, Arab sailors were recruited among the meanest outcasts ([76]). In the previous periods even the bond slaves in cargo ships were respectable agents of their masters.

The Moslems of Spain from at least the 12th century recruited slaves for their galleys (Fig. 12).

Here we must say that in contrast to the miserable slave sailors on cargo and war ships, the so-called slave troops of the Arab armies were well paid and treated. Actually, the term "slave troops" used for them and misused by certain irrelevant historians of Western Civilization is misleading.

(74) A. BRYER, "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond", in *The Mariner's Mirror*, 52 (1966), 3-12.

(75) A. WIEL, *The Navy of Venice*, Louvain, 1910, 69.

(76) Y. LEV, "The Fāṭimid Navy, Byzantium and the Mediterranean Sea 909-1036 C.E./297-427 A.H.", in *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), 250. For the Fatimid navy see also W. HAMBLIN, "The Fatimid Navy during the Early Crusades : 1199-1124", in *The American Neptune* 46[2] (1986), 77-82.

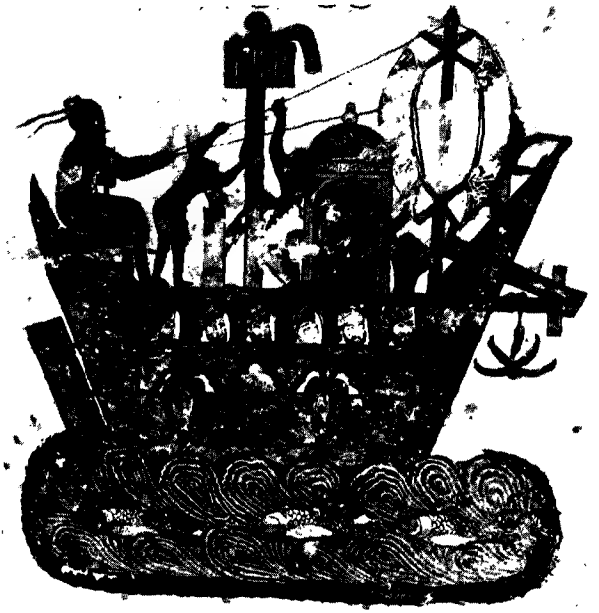


FIG. 1. – Moslem merchant ship illumination. The Ḥarīrī Ar. MS 5847, A.D. 1237. National Library of Paris. Axial stern rudder. Look-out man. Well defined cabins. Long-raking stem. *The World of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, London, 1976, fig. 15.

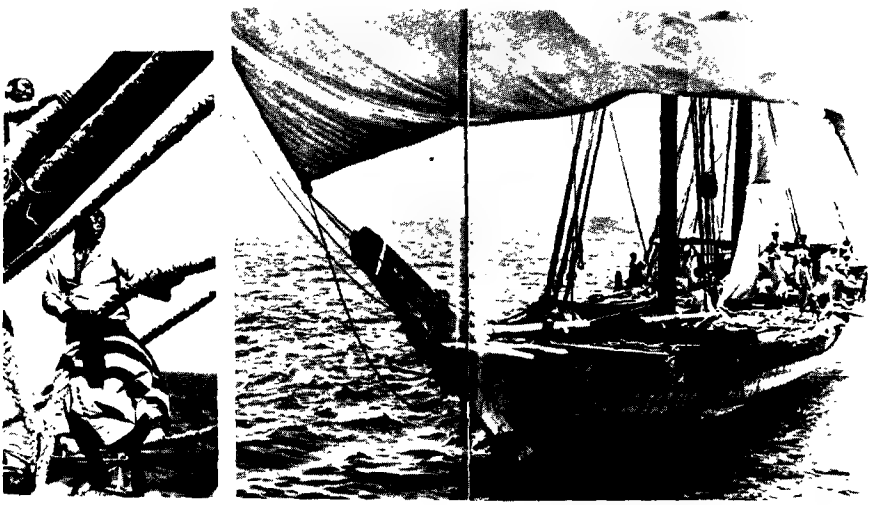
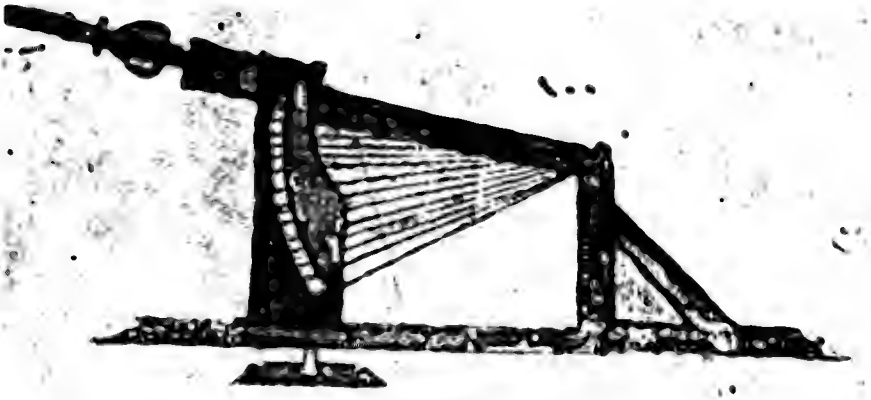


FIG. 2. – Modern Arab dhow, B. LANDSTROM, *The Ship* (1961), 212.



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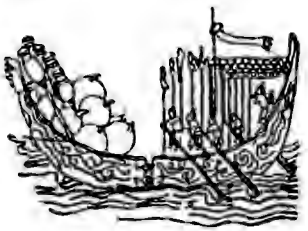

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FIG. 11. – War machine launching qarrūras. Illumination. Khizānah as-Silāh, ed. N. M. Abdel Aziz, Cairo, 1978, p. 70.

FIG. 12. – Illumination from a 12th century Spanish manuscript, depicting black slave oarsmen. C. BRINTON *et al.*, *A History of Civilization*, I (1984), p. 237.

FIG. 13. – Chinese fire ship of the burlot type. Illustration of the "Lien Huan Chou" from the Chinese military treatise by Mao Yuan-yi and Li Pan of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1522).

After the fifteenth century a common tradition of ship building prevailed in the whole Mediterranean. In Arab shipbuilding the most conspicuous influence was the Portuguese, ca. 1400 A.D. The Portuguese made ample use of Arab charts and Vasco de Gama circumvented Africa under the guidance of an Arab pilot. The Portuguese also influenced Arab shipbuilding in the Red Sea. It is under their influence that the Arab dhow changed from the stitched structure to that of nail, now called *mismāriyyāt*, although stitched vessels continued to be built until recently.

Important clues to navigation in the Mediterranean at the time of the peak of Byzantine and Arab navigation are provided by the new science of underwater archaeology, which has shed new light on the technological development of vessels.

The recently discovered shipwreck, dating to ca. 1025, in Serçe Liman of the southern coast of Asia Minor just opposite Rhodes, furnishes invaluable evidence on an important change, on the one hand in the technology of shipbuilding and on the other on an international flavour in the composition of the crews and the transportation of goods originating from various places ([77]).

Twenty per cent of the Serçe Liman hull has been preserved, a good part of the sternpost – made of naturally curved timber – and a few dozen small widely scattered fragments of various portions of the hull. The ship, as is shown by F. H. van Doorninck in a recent study, was a small two masted lateener of about 37 tons burden and it is "the earliest example of a seagoing vessel built in the modern skeletal-first manner" ([78]).

The shipwreck of Serçe Liman reveals a business-like spirit which prevailed in sea transportation at the turn of the eleventh century. Its cargo consisted of goods originating from various countries. A cargo

(77) See J. R. STEFFY, "The Reconstruction of the 11th century Serçe Liman Vessel", in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 11^2 (1982), 13-14; G. F. BASS, "The Nature of the Serçe Limani Glass", in *Journal of Glass Studies*, 26 (1984), 64. In addition to the discovery of shipwrecks the study of ancient ports is of paramount importance. See for example the recent work by R. GERTWAGEN, "The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299-1363): Construction and Maintenance", in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988), 141-158.

(78) See F. H. VAN DOORNINCK, Jr., "The Medieval Shipwreck at Serçe Limani: An Early 11th Century Fatimid Byzantine Commercial Voyage", to appear in *Graeco-Arabica*, 4 (in print).

of Byzantine amphoras, which contained wine and bearing Greek graffiti, has been preserved. Obviously, they were bought in a Byzantine port and were to be sold in Egypt, where in spite of the Islamic prohibition, wine was sold regularly in certain markets.

Fragmentary glass, which was already broken before being placed on board, was loaded from some Near Eastern ports to be sold as glass waste in order to be remelted ([79]).

Byzantine coins of Basil II (1025) on board manifest transactions between Moslems and Byzantines.

While the goods transposed by the vessel of Serçe Liman originated from both Byzantium and the Islamic World, certain important objects that have been preserved point to a Moslem ownership of this boat rather than to a Byzantine. Sixteen Arab glass weights were recovered in the shipwreck of Serçe Liman, used for weighing especially precious items.

Pottery, other than the above mentioned Byzantine amphoras, was Islamic. Thus there are a number of Islamic glazed ceramic bowls forming part of the cargo. A bronze bucket, nevertheless, bearing an Arabic inscription was definitely used by the crew or Arab merchants.

The discovery of remains of peaches, olives, grapes, lentils and various animals in a large area of the stern, reveals the existence of living quarters in this spot. At the same place, intact glass, pottery and most of the coins were found. Among the 150 animal and fish bones were remains of two pigs, indicating non-Moslem members of crews and/or merchants. Four Byzantine lead seals (one unused) and cooking pots bearing Greek graffiti confirm the food evidence. On the other hand the intact Moslem glass, found near eating wares in the same area, shows the predominant Moslem presence ([80]).

Unfortunately, the remains of the shipwreck do not offer us any clues about the way the passengers' dwellings were built. Ashburner

(79) G. F. BASS, "The Shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey", in *Archaeology*, 32[1] (1979), 36 ff.

(80) G. F. BASS, "The Nature of the Serçe Limani Glass", in *Journal of Glass Studies*, 26 (1984), 64 ff. It must be noticed that S. Ximenes describes an Arab shipwreck in Southern France in the 10th century A.D., which is actually the third wreck found in France. Unfortunately, little has been preserved from all these Arab shipwrecks. See S. XIMENES, "Étude préliminaire de l'épave sarrasine du Rocher de l'Estéou", in *Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique*, 4 (1975), 139-150, and notes 1, 2 of page 139. See also G. PURPURA, "Un relitto di età normanna a Marsale", in *Bolletino d'arte*, ser. 6, 29 (Jan.-Feb. 1985), 129-36.

expresses the opinion that in the Byzantine ships there were no cabins but merely sleeping quarters. He based his argument, however, on the Rhodian Sea Law, in which there is a reference to small dwelling places for passengers, "three cubits in length and one in breadth" ([81]). But we have to take into consideration that this space must have varied in accordance with the ship size and its capacity of carrying passengers whose number could reach 400 and even 600.

As in earlier and contemporary times, there were on the ship distinctive classes of places for goods and passengers. Even in earlier times, in the famous luxury ships constructed after the order of King Hiero II of Syracuse (306-255 B.C.), there was an owner's (or agent's) cabin of 15-couch-size with three cubicles of 3-couch size and a kitchen, while cabins of smaller size were assigned for crew members and passengers ([82]). The Geniza documents written at about the time of the shipwreck of Serçe Liman have references to passengers and cargo placed in open places – the latter covered with hides – or in more comfortable and secure places. These documents made explicit references to cabins in Mediterranean vessels ([83]).

Arab illuminations of Red Sea vessels reveal the existence of ample compartments of two overimposed decked floors, called bilij in the Arabic sources, with wide round windows (Figs. 1, 10) ([84]).

In general we can assume that the shipwreck of Serçe Liman belonged to the Moslems, though research has not been completed. It was loaded with goods from various places and it had an international crew.

Most probably the ship that sank in Serçe Liman was the property of an Egyptian from the Fāṭimid state, as we can conclude from the Fāṭimid coins found in the shipwreck. As was mentioned above in this paper, Ibn Ḥawqal writing at the turn of the 10th century, describes the intensive trade relations between the Syrian ports – then under the Fāṭimids – and Byzantium (note 72). The Geniza documents offer ample information on the close trade relations between the Fāṭimids and the Byzantines in about the same period (first half of the 11th

(81) W. ASHBURNER, *The Rhodian Sea Law*, 59 ff. It must be mentioned here that part of the Rhodian Sea Law was translated into Arabic; see ST. LEDER, *Die Arabische Ecloga*, Frankfurt, 1985, 114 ff.

(82) L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship*, 196 ff.

(83) GOITEIN, *Letters*, 41.

(84) See above note 31.

century). In the *Kitāb al-Tuḥuf* there are explicit references to exquisite ceramics and other gifts offered by the Fāṭimids to the Byzantines. It is under the influence of such objects that the Byzantine art of pottery was influenced ([85]).

The recent discovery of the shipwreck in Serçe Liman illustrates how the combination of underwater archaeology and naval history can provide a deeper insight for the historian concerned with various aspects of maritime activities and sea trade in the Eastern Mediterranean at a time (end of the 10th century) when a spirit of international cooperation prevailed in navigation on this turbulent area.

The Persian traveller Nashir-i-Khusraw, writing at the turn of the 11th century, states that Fāṭimid Tripoli of Syria – where there were renowned glass factories – was frequented by Byzantine ships and likewise ships from Tripoli visited Byzantium ([86]). Thus we can assume that the ship which sank in Serçe Liman originated from Tripoli – or any other Syrian Fāṭimid port where glass factories were abundant – and it was on its way either to Constantinople or Corinth where a number of Islamic coins and ceramics betray the close trade relations of this town with the Islamic world. The ship was sunk before it reached the coastline. Had the ship arrived at a Byzantine port, its crew, as the Byzantine sources inform us, would have had easy access to lodging places (*μιτᾶτα*) and all facilities would be offered for the disposal of its cargo at fixed prices ([87]). The whole operation would be under the strict control of the state authorities according to the state controlled Byzantine system. If foreign merchants did not have proper credentials or violated Byzantine law, they were severely punished. But in spite of all difficulties Byzantium and Arab travellers mingled freely as is clearly stated by the famous Arab geographer of the late tenth

(85) Relations between Fatimids and Byzantines existed even at the time of Nicephoros Phocas' expedition to Crete ; V. CHRISTIDES, *The Conquest*, 190.

(86) NASIR-I-KHUSRAW, *Sefer Nameh*, French trans. Ch. SCHEFER, Paris 1881, 41-42.

(87) For the Byzantine ports see Hélène AHRWEILER, "Les ports byzantins (VIIe-IXe siècles)", in *La Navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 1977, 25 (1978), 259-283. For the custom houses see R. S. LOPEZ, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire", in *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 25 ff., where the relevant bibliography is found. See also Aikaterini CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, *Τὰ σφραγιστικὰ κατάλοιπα γιὰ τὴν διοικητικὴ ἐξέλιξη τοῦ νησιωτικοῦ συγκροτήματος τοῦ Αἰγαίου ἀπὸ τὸν Ζ' μέχρι καὶ τὸν Θ' αἰῶνα*", in *Χιακὰ Χρονικά*, 12 (1980), 18-21.

century, Muqaddasi, "I have often sailed with them [the Rūm, *i.e.*, the Byzantines]" ([88]).

Likewise, Byzantine ships at the same period could have easy access to the Fāṭimid ports where lodging would be easily accessible, but on a completely private basis. Prices followed the fluctuations of the free market ; thus when many ships carrying great quantities of products arrived in a Moslem port, prices would fall sharply ([89]). The Moslem authorities required only the proper credentials from the foreigners and an *amān* would be granted to them for their sojourn in a Moslem land ; otherwise under the suspicion of spying they would be thrown to jail ([90]).

Relationship between trade and espionage has always been a sore point in the relations among nations and no examples need to be presented here. Byzantines, in particular, kept a vigilant eye over the movements of the merchants in their country and to a lesser degree so did the Moslems.

The frequent circulation of Byzantine and Moslem cargo ships in the Mediterranean at the turn of the eleventh century marks the peak of their sea trade interrelations. Internal weakness on both sides and the rapid growth of the Italian coastal city-states arrested these maritime activities. The crusades gave new impetus to the improvement of naval technology, the construction of ships and naval warfare. But it should not be forgotten than when in the fifteenth century new horizons opened with the waves of European explorations towards new lands, it was the achievements of the Byzantines and in particular of the Arabs, *i.e.*, their charts, navigation skills and theoretical knowledge, that provided them with a solid basis for the renewal of the necessary technological development.

This discussion will be ended with a short reference to a unique example of international cooperation in the field of theoretical nautical technology under the supervision of an Arab, *i.e.*, the famous geographer Idrīsī († ca. 1162). Idrīsī was called by the Norman King of Sicily, Roger II, to undertake the writing of "a mapa mondae". He

(88) MUQADDASĪ, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, trans. A. Miquel, Damascus, 1963, 43.

(89) GOITEIN, *Letters*, 274.

(90) Goods were stored in the dār wakāla or warehouse, where judges and notaries were present, settling disputes and arranging for business transactions ; GOITEIN, *Letters*, 270.

accomplished this task by constructing a silver planisphere of the world and by writing his *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī 'Khtirāq al-Afāq* (Pleasure Trip of Him Who Desires to Traverse the Horizon). It is a monumental work in world literature because of its unique wealth of geographical information and excellently drawn maps ([91]).

It is remarkable that Roger II and Idrīsī did not limit themselves to the collection of geographical material from Ptolemy and a pleiad of Greek and Arab geographers, but recruited an international committee of collaborators Arabs, Italians, Byzantines, French and others who furnished fresh material.

Greece. Vasilios CHRISTIDES.

ADDENDUM

After this article was completed Prof. L. Casson delivered a paper on Ship Construction ("Hulls and Barrels : Underwater Archaeology's Vital Contributions to the History of Naval Technology") at Delphi in the 2nd Symposium Ship Construction in Antiquity (August 1987). Prof. Casson expressed the view that some medieval inventions in naval technology, as for example the use of barrels, could have been introduced into the Western World from China via the Arabs. Although no specific information was provided by Casson, his theory is highly plausible.

The Chinese, for example, had invented the stern rudder at least from the 3rd c. A.D. and had developed an admirable naval technology before any other country (Lin HUADONG, "A Study on the Origin of Sail in China", in *Maritime Study*, 2 (1986), in Chinese, translated into English by Chen Wenjuan). Moreover, the invention of fire ships of the burlot type, thrown against the enemy, mentioned in the Arabic sources (CHRISTIDES, "Navigation and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th-14th centuries A.D.)", in *Graeco-Arabica*, 4, in press) could have been borrowed from the Chinese. The Chinese also used a special fire ship, composed of two easily detachable parts connected by hooks. After a Chinese fire ship had approached an enemy ship, its fore-part was disconnected an launched against the enemy, while the crew safely escaped in the rear-part. (See fig. 13).

(91) T. LEWICKI, "A propos de la genèse du 'Nuzhat al-Muštāq fi 'Htirāq al-Afaq d'al Idrisi", in *Studi Magrebini*, 1 (1966), 41-55.

AMBIGUITAS CONSTANTINIANA: THE *CAELESTE SIGNUM DEI* OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT (*)

One of the pivotal events in late Roman imperial history is the emperor Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312 because of the vision of the Chi-Rho the emperor is said to have had on the night preceding the battle; it was at this point in history that Christianity began to be the major religious force in the empire. In this paper we will examine the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, the vision, and Constantine's motivation for selecting the Chi-Rho as his sign in the fight against Maxentius. Attention will also be given to the emperor's religious and political stance throughout his reign in order to determine what the emperor's actual position was. Astronomical evidence will also be introduced to reaffirm the traditional dates of both the battle and the vision. The battle itself will be treated first since its reconstruction does not seem all that complex ([1]).

(*) We would like to thank Dr. Michael DiMaio, Sr., for illustrating this paper; additional thanks are due to Professors John Greeley and Lubomir Gleiman, both of Salve Regina College, Professor Charles Fornara, of Brown University, Professor Eugene Lane, of the University of Missouri, and Professor Robert Rowland, of the University of Maryland, all of whom read the article *in toto* and helped to minimize any errors therein.

(1) The Battle of the Milvian Bridge and the death of Maxentius are discussed by Benjamin, *RE*, 4, s.v. "Constantinus (2)", col. 1012.2 ff., E. GROAG, *RE*, 14, s.v. "Maxentius", col. 2745.42 ff., Joseph VOGT, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 3, s.v. "Constantinus der Grosse", col. 318, IDEM, *Constantin der Grosse* (Munich, 1949), 161 ff., F. WINKELMANN, "Zur Geschichte des Authentizitätsproblems der Vita Constantini", in *Klio*, 40 (1962), 225 ff., R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine* (New York, 1969), 72 ff., J. H. SMITH, *Constantine the Great* (New York, 1971), 109 ff., A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (New York, 1949), 76 ff., and T. D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1981), 43 ff.; the scholarly literature before 1929 is cited by Norman H. BAYNES, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (London, 1931), 65, n. 35, while the literature before 1954 is examined by J. MOREAU (ed.), *De la mort des Persécuteurs* (Paris, 1954), 2.432 ff., 436.

After consolidating his hold on northern Italy, Constantine and his army headed south for Rome. He may have arrived some distance to the north ([2]) of the Milvian Bridge ([3]) as early as 24 October 312 ([4]). Maxentius moved his family from the palace to a private home because he had been *somnis terribilibus agitatus et nocturnis pulsus ultricibus* ... ([5]).

On 28 October 312 ([6]), after a supposed engagement at the Saxa Rubra where Maxentius' forces were said to have been routed ([7]),

(2) ZOS., 2.16.1.

(3) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.3 (= J. L. Creed [ed.], LACTANTIUS : *De Mortibus Persecutorum* [Oxford, 1984], 62).

(4) This statement can be true only of the evidence of the late writer Ignatius of Selymbria is to be trusted (*Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 17 in *Mnemeia Hagiologica*, T. Ioannou [ed.], [Venice, 1884], 189).

(5) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).16.5 (= R. A. B. MYNORS, *XII Panegyrici Latini* [Oxford, 1964]).

(6) *CIL*, 1^2, p. 274 ; other sources only mention the year (IDATIUS, *Des. cons. ann.*, 312, *PL*, 51, 907 ; SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.2, *PG*, 67, 37B ff.) ; Jerome dates the event to the sixth year of Constantine's reign (*Chron. ann.* 2328 [Helm. 229]) ; following the interpretation of M. Alföldi and Dietmar Kienast ("Zu P. Bruuns Datierung der Schlacht an der Milvischen Brücke", in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 11 [1961], 34 ff.), C. H. V. SUTHERLAND and R. A. G. CARSON ("The Date of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge", in *The Roman Imperial Coinage* [London, 1967], 6.v ff.) of *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).16.2, 4 (10).33.6, the battle should be dated to the first full day of Maxentius' seventh year.

Other sources provide alternative datings for the battle (AUR., VICT., *Caesar*, 43.23, the sixth year of Maxentius' tyranny ; EUTROP., 10.4.3, the fifth year of Constantine's reign ; PAEANIUS, 10.3.2, the fifth year of Constantine's reign ; *Anon. Vales.*, 4.12, the sixth year of Maxentius' tyranny ; *Chron. P., ann.* 311 [(Bonn ed.), 1.520.11 ff.]).

One of the most recent controversies surrounding the Battle of the Milvian Bridge is the attempt of P. Bruun to redate the encounter to 311 on numismatic evidence (*Studies in Constantinian Chronology* [New York, 1961], 3 ff.) and literary evidence ("The Battle of the Milvian Bridge : The Date Reconsidered", in *Hermes*, 88 [1960], 361 ff.). With justification most scholars have rejected Bruun's theory because of major misinterpretations of the literary evidence on his part (A. CHASTAGNOL, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* [Paris, 1962], 59 ff., n. 158 ; IDEM, "A Review of Bruun's *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*", in *Revue Numismatique*, [Series 5], 4 [1962], 323 ff. ; Wm. SINNIGEN, "A Review of Chastagnol's *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*", in *American Journal of Philology*, 85 [1964], 308 ff. ; Alföldi and Kienast, *JNG*, 11 [1961], 33 ff. ; A. H. M. JONES, "A Review of Bruun's *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 56 [1963], 118 ff.).

(7) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.6 ; AUR. VICT., *Caesar*, 40.23 ; Moreau notes, "... la

sedition arose at Rome, and Maxentius was reviled as a *desertor salutis publicae* ([8]) ; many jokes were made against him ([9]). During games that Maxentius seems to have held on the anniversary of his accession to power, the audience dismayed him by chanting its support for Constantine ([10]). Then Maxentius gathered a group of Senators and ordered that the Sibylline Books be consulted ; in them the following response was recorded : *illo die hostem Romanorum esse perieturum* ([11]) ; he assumed that Constantine would perish ([12]).

Maxentius took to the field with his army ([13]). There he faced his enemy on a plain ([14]) with the Tiber rearward ([15]). The armies were set in battle array opposite each other ([16]). When Constantine had his forces properly arranged, he sent forward his cavalry, which routed the enemy horse ([17]) ; he then sent forward his infantry, which fell upon his opponent's footsoldiers. Maxentius' infantry fled at their approach ; some were trampled to death, while others were slaughtered by the Constantinian footsoldiers ([18]). The Praetorians, however, held their ground to the last man ([19]). Maxentius gave up all hope of victory

localisation de la bataille à Saxa Rubra ... repose sur une confusion commise ... entre les événements de 312 et ceux de 193 ... Aurélius Victor ..., a vraisemblablement viré au compte de l'année 312 un épisode réel de la campagne de Septime Sévère contre Pescennius Niger, la révolte des troupes sévériennes a Saxa Rubra, et a localisé à cet endroit la bataille livrée devant les murs de Rome, plus d'un siècle après ... Il semble préférable d'admettre ... que le combat s'est déroulé ... dans la boucle du Tibre, au N.E. du Pont Milvius, des *Prati di Tor di Quinto ...*" (*De la mort*, 2.432). For further discussion of the alleged engagement of the Saxa Rubra, see J. MOREAU, "Pont Milvius ou Saxa Rubra", in *La Nouvelle Clio*, 4 (1952), 359 ff., and BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 305-306, n. 144.

(8) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.6-7.

(9) ZONAR. (Bonn ed.), 13.1.18.

(10) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.7.

(11) *Ibid.*, 44.8 ; see ZOS., 2.16.1 ff. ; this story is similar in detail to that of Croesus in Herodotus (1.53 ff.).

(12) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.8-9.

(13) *Ibid.*, 44.9.

(14) ZOS., 2.16.1 ff.

(15) *Pan. Lat.*, 4 (10).28.4-5 ; *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).16.3 ; *Anon. Vales.*, 4.12.

(16) IGN. SEL., *Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 17 (Ioannou [ed.], 1884, 180) ; ZOS., 2.16.2.

(17) *Ibid.*, 2.16.3.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).17.1.

at the onslaught of his enemy's cavalry and retreated toward the city with his remaining troops ([20]), some of whom fled headlong into the Tiber ([21]).

What happened next is a matter of dispute. According to Zosimus, Maxentius built a bridge of boats, designed to collapse when the lynch pins were removed. He notes that Maxentius intended to feign a retreat over the bridge ; the latter hoped to have the pins removed when Constantine attempted to cross the structure in hot pursuit of the usurper ; the result of this action was to have been the death of Constantine and his forces in the water of the Tiber ([22]). There is another tradition about Maxentius' death. While fleeing on horseback ([23]), Maxentius was reputedly caught in the jam of fleeing soldiers ([24]) and was thrown into the river ([25]). While Maxentius vainly tried to scale the opposite bank with his horse to avoid his pursuers ([26]), he was swept away by the current and perished ([27]).

(20) Zos., 2.16.3.

(21) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).17.1.

(22) 2.15.3. ; some sources indicate that the bridge of boats collapsed with Maxentius and those of his forces fleeing with him (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, 9.9.5 ff., *VC* [Heikel (ed.)], 1.38 ; Theoph., *AM* 5802 [De Boor (ed.), 1.14.8 ff.] [= *Acts of Metro. and Alex. ap.* Photium, *PG*, 104, 108 B-C] ; Praxagoras of Athens, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4.2). Libanius indicates that Maxentius perished in the Tiber on a device of his own making (*Or.*, 59.20) ; Aurelius Victor leaves the impression that Maxentius died on a device of his own contrivance *apud pontem Mulvium* (*Caesar.*, 40.23).

Zosimus (2.16.4) and Ignatius of Selymbria (*Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 17 [Ioannou (ed.), 1884, 180]) indicate that Maxentius and his men fell into the Tiber while crossing a bridge which was not strong enough to endure the burden of their weight ; the former source states that it was the bridge of boats, while the latter source is unclear about the exact nature of the bridge.

(23) Zonar., 13.1.12.

(24) Lact., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.9.

(25) *Anon. Vales.*, 4.12 ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 311 (1.520.21 ff.).

(26) *Pan Lat.*, 12 (9).17.2.

(27) *Pan. Lat.*, 4(10).30.1 ; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.2, *PG*, 67, 37B ff. ; Aurelius Victor combines both traditions by noting that Maxentius and his horse slipped into the water while trying to mount the bridge of boats (*Epit.*, 40.7) ; Lactantius clearly indicates that the bridge of boats was destroyed before the flight of Maxentius (*Mort. Pers.*, 44.9 ; Orosius (7.28.16) and Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6.4 ff.) note that Maxentius was killed ; Eutropius (10.4.3.) and Paeanius (10.3.2) mention Maxentius' death in passing.

Of all the sources that deal with Maxentius' death, that of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*,

Needless to say, the exact details of Maxentius' end are far from clear. Additionally here is the question about both the bridge of boats and the Milvian Bridge itself. Which actually collapsed ? Barnes, basing his argument upon the sculptures on the Arch of Constantine, has apparently neatly resolved the question. He argues that the Milvian Bridge was destroyed before the battle and that the bridge that actually collapsed under Maxentius was the bridge of boats ([28]).

What sets the Battle of the Milvian Bridge apart from all other engagements in fourth century Roman history is the occurrence before the actual engagement : Constantine's alleged vision of the cross. The nature of this vision has been a great source of controversy among scholars ([29]). There are two versions of the vision ; one is preserved in Eusebius, the other in Lactantius.

9.9.5 ff., *VC*, 1.38) and those which are derived from him (IGN. SEL., *Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 17 [Ioannou (ed.), 1884, 179 ff. ; THEOPH., *AM* 5802 [1.14.8 ff.] ; PRAXAGORAS OF ATHENS, *FHG*, 4.2) are the most rhetorical. Eusebius compares the flight and death of Maxentius with the pursuit of Moses over the Red Sea by the King of Egypt ; the Bishop of Caesarea gleefully cites *Exodus* (15 : 4 ff.) and *Psalms* (7 : 16) in his account of these events. The parallelism is not exact because the King of Egypt is the pursuer and Moses is the pursued in *Exodus*. For a discussion of the literature that discusses the use of the Moses' motif, see BAYNES, *Constantine*, 66, n. 34.

(28) Barnes notes, "... [T]he Milvian Bridge was cut before Constantine reached Rome. The Arch of Constantine clearly shows the bridge as broken ... Its testimony must outweigh that of the Gallic orator of 313 who assumes that the bridge existed on the day of the battle (*Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).17.1 : *hostes ... angustiis Mulvii pontis exclusi*). Lactantius states twice that the bridge wat cut (*Mort. Pers.*, 44.9 : *pons a tergo eius scinditur ... ad pontem, qui interruptus*), though he errs in thinking that it was severed on the day of the battle. The *Epitome* [of Aurelius Victor] locates the *pons navigiis compositus* slightly upstream from the Milvian Bridge itself (40.7)" (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 305-306, n. 144).

(29) The vision of the cross is discussed, for example, by BENJAMIN, *RE*, col. 1017.22 ff., VOGT, *RAC*, 3, col. 318 ff., IDEM, *Constantin*, 161 ff., SMITH, *Constantine the Great*, 101 ff., JONES, *Constantine*, 77, 94 ff., MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, 74 ff., H. A. DRAKE, "*Semper Victor Eris* : Evidence for the Policy and Belief of Constantine I Contained in Eusebius' Tricennial Oration" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970), 125 ff., A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948), 16 ff., BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 43, H. GRÉGOIRE, "La statue de Constantin et le signe de la croix", in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 1 (1930-32), 136 ff., WINKELMANN, *Klio*, 40 (1962), 211 ff., 220 ff., 239 ff., R. EGGER, "Das Labarum, die Kaiserstandarte der Spätantike", in *Vienna Academy : Phil. Hist. Klasse Situngsberichte*, 234, # 1 (1960), 8 ff. ; the scholarly literature

Eusebius' account is contained in the *Vita Constantini*, whereas Lactantius' narrative is in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum* ([30]). According to Eusebius, Constantine and his army saw a cross of light bearing the inscription *τούτῳ νίκα* in the sky above the sun shortly after noon. Both the emperor and his army were exceedingly moved by the sight. That evening, while trying to interpret this vision, Constantine had another apparition in which Jesus supposedly appeared with the same sign and commanded him to fashion a cross for protection against his enemies. The next morning the emperor summoned his craftsmen and ordered them to produce a standard made of gold and precious stones. Eusebius concludes his account of the vision with a description of the standard or Labarum ([31]).

Lactantius' account of the vision ([32]) differs substantially from the Eusebian account. He indicates that on the night before the battle Constantine had a dream in which he was directed to have the *caeleste signum dei* inscribed on his soldiers' shields. The *signum* appears to have been the familar Chi-Rho.

It is our opinion that the Lactantian account represents the true course of events, while the Eusebian account is strictly imperial propaganda (*pace* the views of Barnes) ([33]). The date of composition

before 1929 is discussed by BAYNES, *Constantine*, 58, n. 32, while the literature before 1954 is discussed J. VOGT and W. SESTON, "Die Constantinische Frage", in *Relazioni del X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, 2 (1955), 388 ff.

(30) EUSEB., *VC*, 1.28 ff.; LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 44.4-6.

(31) *VC*, 1.28-31; Eusebius' description of the Labarum is quite detailed. He claims that it was a long spear with a crossbar which formed the shape of a cross. It seems to have been covered with gold. A square banner, embroidered with jewels and interlaced with gold, hung from the crossbar. Immediately above the banner and the crossbar was a golden portrait of Constantine and his children. On top of the standard was a wreath of gold and precious stones, in the midst of which was the Chi-Rho (*χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον*) (*VC*, 1.29-30). The presence of the portaits of Constantine's sons on the standard is anachronistic. Possibly they were added later when the boys were made Caesars; since Eusebius saw the Labarum many years after it was supposed to have been put together, it would not have been unnatural that he mentioned the boys' portraits.

(32) *Mort. Pers.*, 44.4 ff.

(33) Barnes notes that the Lactantian version of the vision, in his opinion, was just an attempt on Constantine's part to give his action a "conventional religious explanation". He accepts Eusebius' comments because Constantine told the bishop the fuller story under oath (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 43).

Interestingly, the Eusebian account, although probably propaganda, has had the

of Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum* was probably 314 or 315 ([34]), making it roughly contemporary with the event itself. The narrative is bare and unembellished. Constantine had a dream and related it to his soldiers. Lactantius may even have heard the story from Constantine himself since he was appointed Crispus' tutor no later (and probably earlier) than 317 ([35]). If the Eusebian version had been current in 312, then the Bishop of Caesarea would have mentioned it when he composed the third edition of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in late 316 ([36]). He did, after all, treat the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* ([37]). In fact, Eusebius mentions the vision of the cross for the first time in his *Vita Constantini*, which the Bishop may have started composing while the emperor was still alive ([38]) ; moreover, Eusebius does not take credit for the story. He makes it clear that he heard it from Constantine's mouth ([39]), not the most unbiased source. Possibly Eusebius himself realized that the emperor's version was imperial propaganda. Contrasted with the Lactantian version of the vision, Eusebius' version seems quite embellished. No longer is one individual having a dream ; rather the emperor and his whole army see the cross and they are amazed by the sight. The vision is seen in the bright light of day. There are contrasts of light and dark. Clearly the vision has been improved upon ([40]).

most profound influence on later narratives that deal with Constantine's vision of the cross. For a discussion of these other accounts, see the Appendix of this paper.

(34) CREED, xxxiii-xxxv.

(35) *Ibid.*, xlv, xxvii.

(36) BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 149-150 ; for a full discussion of the literature which discusses the composition of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, see *ibid.*, 355-356, notes 12-16.

(37) *Hist. Eccl.*, 9.9.4 ff.

(38) BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 265. For a full listing of the literature which discusses the composition of Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*, see *ibid.*, 400-401, notes 61-64.

(39) *VC*, 1.28.

(40) Perhaps the contrast of the sun with the cross is intentional. One could argue that the sun could represent *Sol Invictus*, while the cross above it represents the victory of Christianity over paganism ; perhaps it was a blatant statement of Constantine's obvious attempt to rely on religious syncretism. Discussing this passage together with the Lactantian version and the account of Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6 [Bidez, 7]), Gagé writes,

It has to be remembered that the vision of the cross is just one of the apparitions that occurred during the emperor's reign. In addition to it, his whole reign is punctuated by visions which occur at crucial junctures especially when the ruler was faced by an enemy such as Maxentius or Licinius. In 310, according to a pagan source, Constantine supposedly visited a temple in Gaul where he had a vision of Apollo, who promised the emperor a thirty year reign ([41]). In 321 the orator Nazarius indicated that two young men on horseback appeared to the emperor at the time of his victory over Maxentius ([42]). Nazarius also recounts the story that a heavenly army was seen shouting Constantine's victory to the skies ([43]). This vision seems to have had its effects on later writers. Some two decade later Eusebius notes that detachments of Constantine's army were seen marching through the streets of cities subject to Licinius ([44]). The Byzantine

> S'il en fut ainsi, la version proprement conservée par Philostorge doit mériter au moins autant de crédit que celle de la *Vita* eusébienne ... Le texte de Philostorge ... remonte apparemment à des témoignages anciens ; nous estimons qu'il nous conserve deux traits essentiels de la version première : la forme purement astrale et l'heure nocturne, ou pour le moins crépusculaire, de la vision ... [N]ous croyons que l'insistance de la dévotion constantinienne au dieu solaire, voire au Christ-Soleil, a contribué à rapprocher de cet astre l'apparition du signe ... (J. GAGÉ, "Le 'signum' astrologique de Constantin et le millénarisme de 'Roma aeterna'", in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 31 [1951], 206-207).

For a discussion of Constantine and his relationship with *Sol Invictus*, see *infra*, p. 19 ff., 28 ff.

(41) *Pan. Lat.*, 6(7).21.3 ff. ; using this passage as the foundation of his argument, Grégoire claimed that the vision of 312 was an imitation of the apparition of 310 ("La 'conversion' de Constantin", in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 36 [1930-31], 231 ff.).

This thesis was the subject of much of Grégoire's later research ("Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la 'Vita Constantini' dans sa forme actuelle et Constantin n'est pas 'converti' en 312", in *Byzantion*, 13 [1938], 361 ff. ; "La vision de Constantin 'liquidée'", in *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), 341 ff.).

(42) *Pan. Lat.*, 4 (10).15.4-7.

(43) *Ibid.*, 4 (10).14.1-4 ; at 4 (10).14.3, Nazarius notes that *flagrabant verendum nescio quid umbones corusci et caelestium armorum lux terribilis ardebat* ... Could this be a veiled pagan reference to the Chi-Rho on the shields of Constantine's army ? Certainly Nazarius would never have mentioned the vision involving the Chi-Rho in the sky. For a discussion of the *caelestia arma*, see GAGÉ, *RHPR*, 31 (1951), 183 ff.

(44) *VC*, 2.6.

chronographer Zonaras mentions light flashing around the camp of Constantine during his struggle with Licinius ([45]). Clearly Eusebius could have heard a touched up version of the events of 312 from the emperor. We do believe, however, that the vision in 312, at least Lactantius' version of it, may well have had a basis in fact.

In 1948 F. Heiland advanced the thesis that the alignment of the planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars in the constellations Capricorn and Sagittarius ([46]) which occurred in 312 was the *caeleste signum* mentioned by Lactantius ; in addition to the aforementioned planets, he included the stars ω, ψ, β and α of the constellation Capricorn, θ, β, α, γ and λ of the constellation Aquila as well as θ Serpentis in the reconstruction of the Chi-Rho. He dated the event to 21 October 312 ([47]). Gagé reviewed Heiland's findings and argued that the vision actually occurred between 10 and 15 October 312 ([48]). Although the vision could be viewed as early as September 312 and well into October of the same year, the writers of this article prefer to accept Lactantius' dating of the event to the evening of 27 October (*Mort. Pers.*, 44.4-5). This date is astronomically interesting because, shortly after sunset in the southwest ([49]), the planets Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus ([50]) were visible close together in almost a straight line in the constellations Capricorn and Sagittarius (fig. 1). The configuration of these four planets and additional fixed stars create a version of the Chi-Rho which is slightly different in format than that suggested by Heiland. We would suggest that the Rho consisted of the stars ω, ψ,

(45) 13.1.28 ff. ; the chronographer mentions another heavenly vision seen by Constantine. An armed man, on horseback, carried a cross in advance of the emperor's army. Zonaras notes that he did not know whether this vision occurred during the war with Maxentius or that with Licinius (13.1.27 ff.).

(46) F. HEILAND, "Die astronomische Deutung der Vision Kaiser Konstantins", in *Sondervortrag im Zeiss-Planetarium-Jena* (Jena, 1948,), 1 ff.

(47) *Ibid.*, 12 ff. ; Heiland conveniently includes a star chart which shows his reconstruction of the Chi-Rho (16). His date is about the earliest within a plausible range from 21-31 October 312.

(48) *RHPR*, 31 (1951), 194 ff. ; for these dates, the planets form one side only of crossbar, δ and θ Capricorni are needed to balance them.

(49) On 27 October 312 in Rome the sunset was at 5 :00 PM ; the end of astronomical twilight was at 6 :30 PM. Venus set at 7 :10 PM, Jupiter at 8 :15 PM, Saturn at 8 :40 PM, and Mars at 9 :30 PM.

(50) Heiland ignored the planet Venus in his reconstruction of the event.

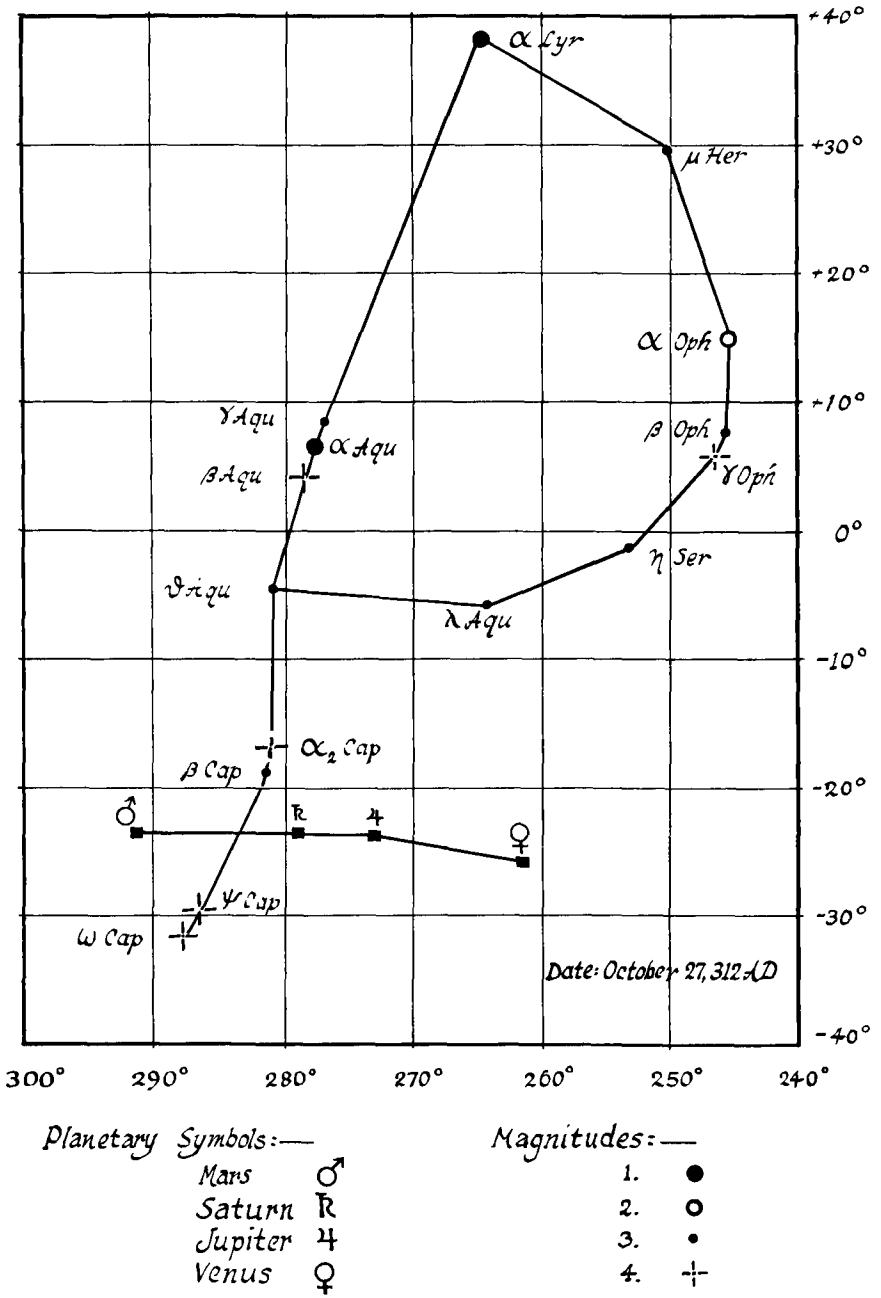
α Lyr
μ Her
α Oph
β Oph
γ Oph
γ Aqu
α Aqu
β Aqu
ϑ Aqu
λ Aqu
η Ser
α2 Cap
β Cap
ψ Cap
ω Cap
+40°
+30°
+20°
+10°
0°
-10°
-20°
-30°
-40°
300°
290°
280°
270°
260°
250°
240°
Date: October 27, 312 AD
Planetary Symbols:—
Mars ♂
Saturn ♄
Jupiter ♃
Venus ♀
Magnitudes:—
1.
2.
3.
4.

FIG. 1.

β, α_2 Capricorni, θ, β, α, γ Aquilae and α Lyrae (Vega) which are all in a straight line, and α Lyrae, μ Herculis, α, β, γ Ophiuchi, η Serpentis, and λ, and δ Aquilae which form a almost perfect half circle. Thus, the Rho, consisting of fixed stars, is quite conspicuous. The Chi is formed by the planets Mars to the left of the line from ω Capricorni to α Lyrae, and Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus to the right of this line. These four planets as well as the aforementioned fixed stars form the pattern of the Chi-Rho or *staurogram* mentioned by Lactantius (☧). During October 312 Mars moved from west to east among the stars ; it was in conjunction with Jupiter on 28 September and with Saturn on 11 October. The *staurogram* therefore was not visible in the sky before Mars was sufficiently east of the line ψ-β Capricorni which the planet crossed on approximately 18 October ([51]). This fact would rule out Gagé's dating of the event mentioned above. Heiland's date of 21 October seems to be a few days too early since the crossbar, which is formed by the four planets, on the Rho would have been off center. We believe that, for all the reasons listed above, Lactantius' dating of the event is correct.

Acceptance of this astronomical phenomenon at least eliminates one of the vexing textual problems with this passage. At 44.5 ff. Lactantius indicates that *[f]ecit ut iussus est et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat.* The Chi-Rho, in its traditional form, is supposed to have been an abbreviation for the first two lettres of the Greek word Christ (*ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ*) – ☧. Following the text of Lactantius, the reader finds that the symbol described by the Latin author looks like this : ☓☧ Vexed by this passage, Moreau – following earlier scholars' leads – has restored an *I* between the words *littera* and *summo* ([52]). With the addition of this letter – Moreau believed –, the Chi-Rho, as we know it, is described ([53]). Such an emendation is really not needed for two reasons ; there are variant

(51) Heiland (*op. cit.*) suggests that δ Capricorni be used as the left end of the Chi. If one were to do this, the resulting crossbar of the Chi-Rho pattern consists of both the planets and a relatively inconspicuous fixed war. The four planets, after all, make up the crossbar of the Rho in our version of the astronomical configuration.

(52) *De la mort*, 2.434 ff.

(53) DRAKE, 12 ; Barnes notes, "Lactantius' description of the *caeleste signum dei* is problematical ... H. Grégoire ... proposed to insert *I* before *transversa* or after *littera*, A. Alföldi to insert *virgula* after *littera* ... Neither is convincing ..." (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 306, n. 146).

versions of the symbol : ♀, ₱, ☧, and ☧ (54). Additionally the astronomical evidence adduced above would seem to indicate that the *staurogram* form of the Chi-Rho (₱) is actually what Lactantius was describing (55). In addition to representing Christ's name, the symbol – in its traditional form – had pagan as well as utilitarian connotations in what it represented (56). It will become clear that the ambiguity of the sign may have been the reason for its adoption.

Another problem with the passage is Lactantius' claim that the date of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge was 27 October in that year in which Maxentius concluded his *Quinquennalia* (57) ; additionally he mentions a set of games that were going on at the time of the battle (58). As was noted elsewhere in this paper, the battle actually occurred on 28 October (59). His statement has caused such scholars as Groag to argue that Lactantius is wrong and that the text of the Latin author should be emended (60). As should be clear from what we indicated earlier in the paper, it is our opinion that there is no need to change the text of Lactantius ; he is not referring to the date of the

(54) The various versions of the Chi-Rho are discussed by J. MAURICE, *Numismatique Constantinienne* (Paris, 1908), 2.L, V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Das Alte Monogram* (Leipzig, 1924), tables, 182-202.

(55) Creed has written, "...[T]he figure described is a staurogram (₱), not a Christogram (☧). It is now clear that, *pace*, Moreau ..., the staurogram was already in use in the third century as a symbol for the cross, and it would therefore be perfectly reasonable for Lact[antius] to interpret it also as a symbol for Christ, although it was to be the Christogram which achieved some prominence in the later coinage of Constantine ..." (119).

(56) Michael DIMAIO, "Zonaras' Account of the Neo-Flavian Emperors : A Commentary" (Ph. D. diss. University of Missouri-Columbia, 1977), 128 ; DRAKE, 128-129 ; pagan symbols similar to the Chi-Rho are discussed by W. SESTON, "La vision païenne de 310 et les origines du chrisme constantinien", in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire et Slaves*, in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, 4 (1936), 393, and M. SULZBERGER, "Le symbole de la croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez premier chrétiens", in *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), 371.

(57) *Mort. Pers.*, 44.4-5, *Imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a.d. sextum kalendas novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur.*

(58) *Mort. Pers.*, 44.7.

(59) *Supra*, n. 6.

(60) Groag writes, "... da der Paneygyriker bezeugt, dass der Tod des [Maxentius] auf demselben Monatstag fiel, und die Schlacht an der Milvischen Brücke nach *CIL*, 1^2, 274 am 18 Okt. stattfand, ist die Angabe des Lactant[ius], 44, 4, der 27 Okt. nennt, zu korrigieren ..." (*RE*, 14, col. 2423.60 ff.).

battle, but to that of the dream of Constantine. Although it could be argued that Lactantius has telescoped the battle to occur on the night of 27 October, a close reading of the text reveals that this is not the case. At 44.7 he makes it evident that games were going on at the same time as the battle. Obviously the games could not have gone on after night had fallen ; Roman arenas were not lighted like modern ball parks. Lactantius would have made it easier for his reader of he had noted that the engagement had occurred the morning following the dream. He probably thought that it was clear from his text, although this obviously is not true.

The other apparent error would seem to be more serious. His claim that the battle occurred on the anniversary of Maxentius' accession to the purple would seem to contradict the ancient evidence. Since Maxentius seized power on 28 October 306 ([61]), his *Quinquennalia* would have been celebrated from October 310 to October 311 if one assumes that the "*quinquennalia* were celebrated, on the analogy of the *vicennalia*, from the beginning of the fifth year" ([62]). If Lactantius' date were left to stand as it is, it would appear that the Battle of the Milvian Bridge occurred in 311, not 312. This interpretation of Lactantius' passage is manifestly wrong.

We believe that the aforementioned interpretation of Lactantius' text is actually a misunderstanding by modern scholars of what the writer had to say. Elsewhere in his narrative the Latin writer, when describing Maxentius' rise to power, simply notes that the usurper was made an emperor (... *Maxentium Romae factum imperatorem*) ([63]). At 44.4-5 Lactantius, while giving the date of Constantine's dream, indicates that Maxentius *imperium ceperat.* Lactantius wrongly calls the usurper an *imperator.* Inscriptions on much of Maxentius' earliest coinage reveals that he called himself *princeps* or first citizen (shades of the Emperor Augustus !) until the summer of 307 ([64]). He probably adopted this title for the first part of his reign to avoid offending the other claimants of the imperial throne ([65]). If Lactantius is loose in his

(61) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).16.2, 20.3 ; *Pan. Lat.* 4 (10).33.6.

(62) CREED, 118.

(63) *Mort. Pers.*, 26.1.

(64) CREED, 106 ; SUTHERLAND and CARSON, *RIC*, 6.27, 367-371.

(65) Barnes writes, "Maxentius ... sought recognition and legitimacy from Galerius. Indeed, he ... styled himself merely *princeps*, deliberately avoiding the official titles of Augustus or Caesar until he should receive appointment from the

use of the word *imperium* or *imperator*, could he also be using the word *Quinquennalia* only to mean that Maxentius had completed his fifth year as Augustus ? If indeed this is the case, then Lactantius is not guilty of a chronological error, but only of expressing himself badly. We think that this is actually the case ([66]). Additionally we would argue that the games staged by Maxentius were probably either a diversion to keep the minds of his subjects off the impending engagement between him and Constantine or to celebrate his fifth year as *Augustus*.

The Chi-Rho is, at best, an ambiguous symbol that could be interpreted either in a pagan or Christian fashion ; one has to wonder what went through Constantine's mind when he adopted the symbol before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. It would appear that Constantine's religious position was ambiguous at best since he did not become a Christian until he was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedeia ([67]) just before his death on 22 May 337 ([68]). Constantine apparently shared the religious convictions of his predecessors ; as emperor he was linked to the state religion and, particularly, to the cult of *Sol Invictus* ([69]). He seems to have perceived himself as a divinity as had those who preceded him ([70]) ; why did he adopt the *caeleste signum dei* ?

senior emperor. Galerius refused ... Since Maxentius could not retreat, he assumed the title of Augustus and prepared to defend his positon ..." (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 30).

(66) Sutherland notes, "[A]lternatively it is not impossible to regard him [Lactantius] as having viewed the years after 306 as anniversary years, with 307 as the first and 311 as the fifth : if he did do he might have also regarded the *quinquennalia* as running from October 311 to October 312 ..." (*RIC*, 6.17).

(67) JEROME, *Chron. ann.*, 2353 (Helm, 234) ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 337 (1.533.12 ff.) ; THEOPH., *AM*, 5828 (1.33.20 ff.).

(68) IDATIUS, *Des. cons. ann.*, 337, *PL*, 51, 908 ; SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.40, *PG*, 67, 180B-C.

(69) For a discussion of Constantine and his relationship to the cult of *Sol Invictus*, see Richard KRAUTHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals : Topography and Politics* (Berkeley, 1983), 33 and 130, n. 25, BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36, 48, A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602 : a Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (NORMAN, 1964), 93, Jacques MOREAU, "Sur la Vision de Constantin", in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 55 (1953), 307 ff., and J.-R. PALANQUE, *The Church in the Christian Roman Empire* (London, 1949), 12-24.

(70) KRAUTHEIMER, 66.

Politically the answer seems fairly clear. According to the Anonymous Orator of 313, members of Constantine's own *entourage* – including some of his generals – were dubious about his campaign ; even the gods themselves were opposed to this success as the *haruspices* revealed ([71]). Constantine was also the underdog in his campaign because of the limited size of his army ([72]).

The aforementioned astronomical event itself may have played a role in Constantine's adoption of the Chi-Rho as a Christian symbol to use against Maxentius ; in particular, the astrological meaning of the event may have undermined the morale of the army since the alignment of the three planets in Capricorn seems to have had a negative effect ([73]). In addition to what Heiland indicates, there are other

(71) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).2.4-5, *Quisnam te deus, quae tam praesens hortata [est] maiestas ut, omnibus fere tuis comitibus et ducibus non solum tacite mussantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus, contra consilia hominum, contra haruspicum monita ipse per temet liberandae Urbis tempus venisse sentires ?*

(72) Zosimus says that the Constantinian army was made up of 9,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, consisting of barbarian prisoners of war, Germans, Celts, and Britons and that Maxentius' forces contained 170,000 infantry and 18,000 cavalry, made up of Italians, Carthaginians, and Sicilians (2.15.1 ff.). The Orator of 313 (*Pan. Lat.*, 12 [9].3.3) notes that Constantine faced an army of 100,000 with fewer than 40,000 soldiers (*ibid.*, 12 [9].5.1 ff.). Constantine had left three quarters of his army behind to guard the Rhine (*Pan Lat.*, 12 [9].3.2 ff.). Lactantius claims that Maxentius' army was larger than Constantine's forces because he had his father's old army which had gone over to him from Severus as well as contingents which he had raised in North Africa (*Mort. Pers.*, 44.2).

Although it could be argued that the numerical superiority of the Maxentian forces in the conflict is just Constantinian propaganda to make the emperor look like a single man against impossible odds, Zosimus' remarks make it clear that this is probably not the case. Zosimus, an ardent pagan, tries to avoid praising Constantine if he can help it. Whenever he could, the author of the *Nova Historia* liked to find fault with the emperor. For example, he gleefully notes that Constantine's taxes were so excessive that fathers were forced to hire out their daughters as prostitutes to pay their debts (2.38.3). It is our opinion that, although the actual number of troops involved may be dubious, Zosimus' belief of Maxentius' numerical superiority over the forces of Constantine is probably accurate.

(73) Heiland writes,

> ... wurde einer Konjunktion des Jupiter und des Saturn stets eine grosse Bedeutung beigelegt. Jupiter galt als glückbringender Stern, und zwar in noch höherem Grade als die Venus, er wird geradezu als der grosse Glücksstern bezeichnet. Saturn war ... der Stern des Weltschöpfers gewesen ... Mars ... ist der "hitziger" Planet, von dem sicher nichts Gutes zu erwarten ist. Nun standen

reasons that the alignment of the four planets was considered to be a bad omen. Such an alignment of the four planets is so rare that it has always been considered a disastrous occurrence ; for example, the great bubonic plague was attributed to such an alignment in the constellation Aquarius on 20 March 1345 ([74]). Moreover, Capricorn was considered to be the house of the malevolent planet Saturn which could only worsen the situation. The decan ([75]) of Mars' position was Mars itself ; the decan of Jupiter's and Saturn's position was Jupiter itself. Therefore, no other planet had any influence on these three planets which would moderate this malevolent alignment. Venus was strongly influenced by them because it was in the house of Jupiter (Sagittarius) and Saturn was the decan. The situation was compounded by the fact that the Sun and Mercury were in conjunction in Scorpio which was the house of Mars where Mars was the decan (27 October). In fact, the Anonymous Orator of 313 may have been alluding to the astronomical phenomenon when he wrote ... *[t]ransacto enim metu adversi ominis et offensione revocata, utar libertate erga te nostri amoris, quem tunc inter metus et rei publicae vota suspendimus* (*Pan. Lat.*, 12 [9].2.2). When the Orator mentioned the *metus adversi ominis*, he was probably indicating that Constantine had converted a hostile set of astrological signs into a positive force for his own use. Since we know that Constantine himself is said to have consulted the Neo-platonist Sopatros and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus about the proper date for the dedication of Constantinople later in his reign ([76]) ; he seemingly was attuned to the subject. At any rate, the

> die drei Planeten zusammen am Himmel ! ... Der Glücksstern Jupiter war umgeben von den beiden Unglücksternen Mars und Saturn, gegen die er natürlich nicht aufkommen konnte. Das war offenbar das *adversum omen* [italics ours] ... So gilt schon die Oppositionsstellung eines Planeten zur Sonne als ungünstig, ausserdem soll die Wirkung eines Planeten noch kräftiger ausfallen, wenn er in einem bestimmten Sternbild steht. Diese Bilder sind für den Mars den Skorpion, für den Jupiter der Schütze und für den Saturn der Steinbock. Das sind gerade die Sternbilder, in denen sich damals die Planeten besonders lange Zeit aufhielten, weil sie in ihnen rücklaufige Bewegungen ausführten" (13-14).

(74) *Die Zeit*, 16 March 1987, 14.

(75) W. GUNDEL, *Dekane und Dekansternbilder* (Darmstadt, 1969), 81.

(76) LYDUS, *De mens.*, 4.2. ([Bonn ed.], 1.52.10 ff.). Zonaras (13.3.6.) and Cedrenus (1.497.17 ff.) seem to be guilty of an anachronism because they claim the astrologer Vettius Valens was involved ; Valens apparently lived in the period of the

whole age was one when belief in the occult forces of magic and astrology was prevalent ([77]). The army seems to have been pagan in its make-up until late in Constantine's reign ([78]), although Barnes has argued that this statement may not be true ([79]). The footsoldiers and cavalrymen in the army were certainly common stock and would have noticed the *adversum omen* in the sky.

In order to counteract the adverse morale of his army caused by the mutterings of his *entourage*, the *adversum omen*, and the *haruspicum monita*, Constantine had to come up with a way of interpreting the signs in a manner favorable to himself. If Alföldi is correct – and the authors of this paper believe that he is – to say that the basis of Constantine's religious convictions was success on earth ([80]), the emperor would not have had any hesitation in adopting a Christian interpretation for the *adversum omen* since the Orthodox Church, in general, disapproved of astrology and paganism ([81]). Looking at the situation from the emperor's pespective, this approach to the morale problem made sense even if Orthodox Christianity was a minority force within the Roman world ([82]). How did Constantine get the message to his army ? Perhaps he did it in the manner described by

Antonines (C. DIEHL, "De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople", in *BZ*, 30 [1929-30], 193). Ensslin seems to be unaware of this fact and assumes that the astrologer lived during the reign of Constantine (W. ENSSLIN, *RE*, 8a, s.v. "Valens (9)", col. 2130.54 ff.).

(77) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, 962.

(78) *Cod. Theod.*, 7.20.2, *Adclamatum est ; Auguste Constantine, dii te nobis servent* ; JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, 81.

(79) Barnes notes that it is often argued that Constantine's army remained pagan after 312 because of the acclamation it gave the emperor and his *entourage* mentioned in the *Theodosian Code* (7.20.2). He points out that the subscription (*dat. kal. Mart. in civitate Vellovocorum Constantino VI et Constantino Caes. conss.*) "contains a contradiction, since Constantine was nowhere near Beauvais on 1 March 320 ; it may accordingly be proposed that the law was in fact issued on 1 March 307 ..." (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 309, n. 42). For additional details on this new dating, see T. D. BARNES, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, 1982), 69, n. 102. At any rate, the new dating of this rescript would not have any effect on the arguments in this paper because at the time of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge the army of Constantine was still pagan.

(80) *Conversion*, 21.

(81) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, 962.

(82) *Ibid.*, 81 ; Barnes, however, rejects Jones' contention and argues to the contrary (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 191 ff.).

Lactantius at 44.5 : *Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus.* Even though the astronomical event had been visible for some time to both Constantine and the soldiers in his army, the emperor simply indicated to his troops that it was a not negative sign, but rather the *caeleste signum dei.* Lactantius does not mention the fact that the army could have seen the astronomical phenomenon in order to avoid referring to the astrological significance of the event, although his reader is left with the impression that the *caeleste signum dei* itself was a matter of common knowledge because of the offhand manner in which the author mentions it.

Constantine seems to have taken additional steps to ensure that Maxentius was seen in a bad light. Even though the latter was probably a Christian ([83]), Constantinian propagandists portrayed him as a tyrant who was addicted to the occult. Some sources mention only in vague terms Maxentius' addiction to the occult ([84]), whereas others describe the gory details with intent to stress the tyrannical nature of the usurper. Newly born babies ([85]) and lions ([86]) were said to be ripped open in order for the tyrant to obtain victory. Even the Anonymous Orator of 313 gets into the act by noting how dependent Maxentius was on sacrifice ([87]). Such a character, from Constantine's point of view, had to be overthrown.

The ambiguity that surrounds the so-called *caeleste signum dei* also envelops his actions following the defeat of Maxentius. Although he had attributed his victory to Christ, the emperor did not take any immediate actions to make Christinaity the state religion, or, for that matter, become baptized himself. Probably because he was a political realist, he started the slow process of Christianization which would be completed by his sons. Signs of the change are visible as early as the winter of 312-313.

When Constantine and Licinius met at Mediolanum to solemnize the marriage between the latter and Constantia ([88]), they drafted the

(83) For a discussion of Maxentius' religious orientation and other literature on his background, see CREED, 98 ff.

(84) EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 9.9.3 ; CEDRENUS, 1.474.6 ff.

(85) THEOPH., *AM* 5803 (1.13.37 ff.) ; George HARMATOLUS, *Chron.*, 3.177.6, *PG*, 110, 585 B ; ZONAR., 13.1.9.

(86) EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 8.14.5, *VC*, 1.36.

(87) *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).14.3.

(88) For a discussion of the marriage of Licinius and Constantia, see DIMAIO, 147 ff.

text of a document, released by Licinius in Nicomedeia after he had defeated Maximinus Daia ([89]), which is now known as the Edict of Milan ([90]). The text of the decree, with some differences in wording ([91]), is preserved in both Greek and Latin ([92]). The first section of the edict granted general religious toleration to both Christians and pagans throughout the realms of both emperors ([93]), while the second portion granted Christians the freedom to assemble, to practice their religion, and to obtain reparations for the damage done to the Orthodox Church during the Diocletianic persecution ([94]). The edict makes it clear that neither emperor espoused Christianity. Licinius issued the edict on his own behalf and that of Constantine ([95]). The document was not formal in nature, but rather a series of letters to the magistrates in the provinces explaining the two emperors position toward Christianity ([96]). The existence of the edict is not as important

(89) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.1.

(90) The Edict of Milan is discussed, for example, by BENJAMIN, *RE*, 4, col. 1018.55 ff., O. SEECK, *RE*, 13, s.v. "Licinius (31a)", col. 222.37 ff., *Idem*, "Das sogennate Edikt von Mainland", in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1891), 381 ff., B. J. KIDD, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461* (Oxford, 1922), 1.529 ff., H. GRÉGOIRE, "Licinius' Fiscal and religious Policy", in *Byzantion*, 13 (1937), 551 ff., J. P. KNIPFING, "Religious Toleration During the Early Part of the Reign of Constantine the Great", in *Catholic Historical Review*, ns. 4 (1925), 494 ff., Norman H. BAYNES, "Two Notes on the Great Persecution", in *Classical Quarterly*, 18 (1924), 193 ff., MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, 93 ff., and Jones, *Constantine*, 85 ff.

(91) The differences in the two texts are discussed by MOREAU, *De la mort*, 2.457 ff.

(92) EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 10.5.4 ff. ; LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.2 ff. ; the Eusebian text (10.52) contains a prologue that is not in the text of Lactantius.

(93) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.2-6 ; EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 10.5.4 ff.

(94) LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.7-12 ; EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 10.5.7 ff.

(95) Although Licinius issued the edict (LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.1 ff.), the preamble of the document contains the names of both emperors (EUSEB., *Hist. Eccl.*, 10.5.4 ; LACT., *Mort. Pers.*, 48.2).

(96) BAYNES, *Constantin*, 72 ff. ; Seeck, on the other hand, has argued that the edict never existed and the document that Licinius issued only pertained to the east and not the whole empire (*ZKG*, 12 [1891], 381 ff.). If Seeck's contention is accepted, one has to explain the fact that both emperor's names are in the preamble of the document.

Most recently Creed has noted, "[t]here is little doubt that Seeck is in the main right ; Christianity had been tolerated in the West ever since the accession to power of Constantine and Maxentius ..., the restitution of property to the Church was already being actively pursued ..., and there is no reason to doubt that the provisions

as the fact that both emperors had started in motion a policy of evenhanded treatment of both the Orthodox and pagan elements of the empire's population. This trend was continued in a whole string of legal rescripts which upgraded the Orthodox population's status in the empire ([97]). Again, however, Constantine's own personal, religious position is far from clear.

One cannot say whether Constantine was a Christian or a pagan. The emperor seems to have employed Christian and pagan symbolism throughout his reign. The inscription on the emperor's triumphal arch, which was constructed on orders of the Roman Senate before the emperor's visit in 315 ([98]) is typical ; it ascribed Constantine's victory over Maxentius to the emperor's *instinctu divinitatis* ([99]). This phrase would appear to be so vague that it would not offend either the Orthodox or the pagan faction of Constantine's court ([100]).

This studied ambiguity can even be found in both the coinage and imperial propaganda of the period. Although Constantine apears to have added the Chi-Rho to his coinage as early as 315 ([101]), the

of the edict of Galerius ... were being enforced by Licinius. But on its own evidence the letter is concerned to apply policies agreed by Constantine and Licinius at Milan to the former subjects of Maximin" (122).

(97) For a discussion of Constantine's pro-Christian legislation, see DIMAIO, 143, 145 ff., and KRAUTHEIMER, 36 ff.

(98) SMITH, *Constantine the Great*, 115 ; Richardson, however, has argued that the arch was not completed until 326 (L. RICHARDSON, "The Date and the Program of the Arch of Constantine", in *Archaeologia Classica*, 27 [1975], 72-78).

(99) *ILS*, 694.

(100) Krautheimer, 37, 131, note 27 ; Krautheimer points out that L'Orange has forcefully argued that the inscription is actually a reference to the pagan gods who are represented on the arch (H.-P. L'ORANGE, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogen* [Berlin, 1939], 176 ff.). In our opinion, although L'Orange's idea is intriguing, it ignores the fact that many of the sculptures that make up the arch were actually taken from earlier monuments of the Trajanic and Hadrianic period and adapted for Constantine's own use (Chester G. STARR, *Civilization and the Caesars : The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire* [New York, 1965], 285). Certainly the members of the Senate were smart enough to be able to tell the difference between the gods of the earlier period and *Sol Invictus* of the third and fourth century.

(101) A. ALFÖLDI, "The Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine", in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Paul Colemen-Norton (ed.) (Freeport, NY, 1969), 303 ff., *Idem*, "The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram", in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 22 (1932), 11 ff. ; Christian symbols on Constantine's coinage is discussed by Vogt,

representation of *Sol Invictus* as the *divus comes Augusti* appears on the emperor's coinage as late as the 320s. ([102]). The Anonymous Orator of 313 speaks of a nameless supreme deity ([103]). One even finds many of the emperor's actions concerning the foundation of Constantinople cloaked in ambiguity.

The dedication ceremonies occurred on 11 May ([104]) 330 ([105]) and were elaborate. There was a procession around the Hippodrome ; soldiers dressed in white and holding candles, acted as a honor guard for a huge gilded statue of Constantine, which had an effigy of *Tyche* in its right hand. The emperor is said to have watched the ceremony in his box ([106]). In addition to the *pompa circensis*, another procession escorted a bronze statue of the emperor to the Forum of Constantine, when it was placed on a porphyry column ([107]). The procession was led by the *Cubicularii* and the *Silentarii* ([108]).

Was the city Christian or pagan in nature ? Scholars do not seem to agree ([109]). A hybrid ceremony would have been advantageous to

in *RAC*, 3, col. 325, A. ALFÖLDI, *Conversion*, 17, *Idem*, "*Hoc signo victor eris* : Beiträge der Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen", in *Pisciculi : Studien zur religion und Kultur des Altertums (Festschrift für F. Dölger)*, (Münster, 1939), 3 ff., and K. KRAFT, "Das Silbermedaillon Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogram auf dem Helm", in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 5-6 (1955), 151 ff.

Bruun, however, has argued that the coinage of Constantine cannot be used as proof of Constantine's conversion to Christianity ; he, in particular, finds fault with those such as Alföldi who argue that the Chi-Rho was which on the coinage of the emperor (P. BRUUN, "The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine", in *Arctos*, n.s. 3 [1962], 5-35).

(102) KRAUTHEIMER, 31-32.

(103) *E.g.*, *Pan. Lat.*, 12 (9).2.4-5, 16.2, 26.1 ff.

(104) ZONAR., 13.3.5 ; CEDRENUS, 1.497.21 ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 330 (1.529.15 ff.) ; HESYCHIUS MILESIUS, 42 (= *FHG*, 4.154 = [T. Preger, (ed.), *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitinarum*, (Leipzig, 1901-1907), 1.18.4]) ; PSEUDO-CODINUS, 55 (= *SOC*, 2.143.5) ; IDATIUS, *Des. cons. ann.*, 330, *PL*, 51, 908.

(105) JEROME, *Chron. ann.*, 2345 (Helm, 232) ; MALALAS, 1.319.20.

(106) *Ibid.*, 1.322.9 ff. (= *Chron. P., ann.*, 330 [1.530.1 ff.]) ; the ceremony was continued for years until it was repressed by the Emperor Theodosius (*Pat. Cons.* [= *SOC*, 1.21.41 ff.]).

(107) *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί ap. Pat. Const.* (= *SOC*, 1.56.1 ff.) ; for a discussion of this statue, see *infra*, p. 31 ff. of this article.

(108) The *παραστάσεις* claims that a certain Olbianus was the city prefect in 330, although it was actually Ablavius at the time (T. PREGER, "Konstantinos-Helios", in *Hermes*, 36 (1901), 465).

(109) Lathoud and Maurice argued years ago that the dedication of 330 was

Constantine because it would satisfy both pagan and Christian factions in his court. Pagan elements included the horoscope of the city ([110]) and the small statue of Tyche in the hands of the statue of Constantine. Christian authors themselves are unclear about the dedication of the city ([111]). This religious ambiguity also surrounds the establishment of Constantinople's *pomerium* ([112]).

In our opinion, the greatest physical example of the religious ambiguity of the emperor was the statue of himself, which the emperor had erected on a porphyry column in the Queen of Cities ([113]). Plans for this project may have been formulated as early as 325, although actual construction did not begin until 328 ([114]). The column itself

Christian, while any earlier ceremony would have been pagan (D. LATHOUD, "La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople", in *Échos d'Orient*, 24 [1925], 192 ff.; J. MAURICE, *Constantin le Grand: l'origine de la civilisation chrétienne*, [Paris, 1924], 214). Frolow has contended that the services were originally pagan, but later became corrupted by Christian tradition (A. FROLOW, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 127 [1944], 79-85). Dagron presents the most balanced view by claiming that there were both pagan and Christian elements in the ceremony (G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* [Paris, 1974], 41 ff.).

(110) For a discussion of Constantine's feelings on astrology, see *supra*, p. 22 ff.

(111) Eusebius claims that the city was dedicated to the God of the martyrs (*VC*, 3.48); Sozomen argues that the city was dedicated to Christ (*Hist. Eccl.*, 2.3.7); Zonaras claims that it was dedicated to the Theotokos (13.3.4.).

Frolow has cogently argued that the Greek Church developed the tradition in its hymnography and that it was picked up, in later years, by historians (A. FROLOW, *RHR*, 127 [1944], 69 ff.).

(112) According to Philostorgius, Constantine establised the city's boundaries by walking around it with a spear in his hand. When a retainer asked the emperor how large the *pomerium* would be, Constantine is said to have answered *ἕως ἂν ὁ ἔμπροσθεν στῇ*. Constantine did not specify what power was leading him (*Hist. Eccl.*, 2.9 [Bidez, 21]).

(113) This statue of the emperor is discussed, for example, by KRAUTHEIMER, 62 ff., VOGT, *RAC*, 3, col. 350 ff., *Idem*, *Constantin*, 260 ff., SMITH, *Constantine the Great*, 236 ff., DAGRON, 3 ff., R. DELBRUECK, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), 140, L. BRÉHIER, "Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople", in *Revue Historique*, 119 (1915), 262 ff., and LATHOUD, *EO*, 23 (1924), 298 ff.

(114) The *Chronicon Paschale* dates the erection of the prophyry pillar to 328 (*ann.*, 328 [1.528.10 ff.]); George Harmatolus notes that the column took three years to be moved from Rome to Constantinople because of its size and weight (*Chron.*, 4.180.2, *PG*, 110, 605B ff.). If he is correct, than the transfer of the pillar would have to be dated to 325 since the erection of the pillar seems to have occurred in 328.

must have been completed by mid-May 330, since Constantine's statue was placed on top of the column during the dedication of the city ([115]). The statue stayed in place some 800 years. During the reign of Alexius Comnenus ([116]) on 15 April in the year 1100 or 1101 ([117]), high winds overturned the statue ; those in the vicinity were killed by falling fragments of the sculpture ([118]).

The nature of the statue itself is far from unclear. Whether the statue was of Constantine or of Apollo is unclear in the sources ([119]). It is known, however, that the work faced toward the east ([120]) ; its head was surrounded by seven rays ([121]). Tradition says that these rays were actually the nails which held Jesus to the cross ([122]). The statue held a lance in its right hand ; this spear was later replaced with a sceptre ([123]). In the statue's left hand was a bronze globe ([124]).

Many traditions, Christian and pagan, began to surround this monument. The Palladium is said to have been placed under the column ([125]). Philostorgus claims that prayers and sacrifices were

(115) *Supra*, p. 29 ff.

(116) ZONAR., 13.3.27.

(117) Codinus says that the statue fell on April 5th in the twentieth year of the reign of Alexius Comnenus (*De orig.* [2.15.13 ff.]). Since Alexius' reign is always said to have started in 1081, the statue fell in 1100 or 1101, depending on what time of year Alexius ascended the throne.

(118) ZONAR., 18.26.21 ff. ; ANNA COMNENA, 12.4.5 (2.140.21 ff.).

(119) Various sources indicate that the sculpture was one of Apollo, which the emperor set up in his own name (ZONAR., 143.3.25 ; *Pat. Const.*, 45 [= *SOC*, 2.174.8 ff.]) ; CEDRENUS, 2.742.16 ff. ; ANNA COMNENA, 12.4.5 [2.149.21 ff.]), or an effigy of Constantine himself (SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.17, *PG*, 67, 120C ; CEDRENUS, 1.518.4 ff., 564.22 ; PHILOSTORGIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, 2.17 [Bidez, 28] ; HESYCHIUS MILESIUS, 41 [= *FHG*, 4.154 = *SOC*, 1.17.14 ff.] ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 328 [1.528.10 ff.] ; NICEPH. CALLIS., *Hist. Eccl.*, 7.49, *PG*, 145, 1325 ; MALALAS, 1.320.11 ; THEOPH., *AM*, 5821 [1.28.23 ff.]).

(120) ANNA COMNENA, 12.4.5 ff. (2.149.21 ff.).

(121) MALALAS, 1.312.12 (= *Chron. P., ann.*, 328 [1.518.12 ff.]) ; GEORGE HARMATOLUS, *Chron.*, 4.180.2, *PG*, 110, 605B ff.

(122) ZONAR., 13.2.26 ; *Pat. Const.*, 2.45 (= *SOC*, 2.174.10 ff.).

(123) Cedrenus notes that the statue held a lance in its right hand which was destroyed during an earthquake (1.656.4) ; in later years it was replaced by a sceptre (ANNA COMNENA, 12.4.5. [2.149.21 ff.]).

(124) *Ibid.*

(125) PROCOP., *Bell. Goth.*, 1.15 ; MALALAS, 1.320.14 ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 328 (1.528.13 ff.) ; Zonaras says that Constantine set up the Palladium in the Forum (13.3.7) ; this vestige of paganism linked the "New" Rome with the "Old" Rome.

offered to the statue ([126]). There is also a tradition that Christian relics were buried under the column ([127]). The diversity as well as the nature of the evidence has led to endless speculation about the statue ([128]). The ambiguity of the situation is obvious. Both pagan and Christian elements are in the tradition. Constantine was not above appropriating pieces of art and putting his own name on them ; as was noted above, he did this when the Arch of Constantine was constructed ([129]). Since Constantine did worship *Sol Invictus*, it is probable that the statue was of Apollo, but that the emperor put his own name on it to satisfy various factions of his court. In fact, the ambiguity of the situation is underlined by the presence of the Palladium and the remnants of the true cross in the foundation of the porphyry column. While the Palladium linked the emperor and the city to the "Old Rome", the cross of Jesus joined the ruler and his realm to Christianity, the rising force in his empire. Perhaps Dagron summed it up best when he wrote, "... il ne s'agit pas tant de christianisme et de paganisme que

(126) *Hist. Eccl.*, 2.17 (Bidez, 28) ; Theodoretus refers to these sacrifices, although his references is vague (*Hist. Eccl.*, 1.34). Malalas (1.320.18) and the *Chronicon Paschale* (*ann.*, 328 [1.528.16 ff.]) refer to bloodness sacrifices and may well be speaking of the sacrifices that Philostorgius mentions. Lietzmann has argued that the *θυσία ἀναίμακτος* refer to the Christian liturgy (*Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, [Berlin, 1938], 3.135). Frolow pointed out that both references actually refer to the dedication ceremonies involving *Tyche* and, for that reason, Lietzmann's arguments lack validity (*RHR*, 127 [1944], 79, 83).

(127) These relics included the true cross (SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.17, *PG*, 67, 120B ff.), the baskets used by Jesus to store the bread fragments from the feasts of the four and five thousand (CEDRENUS, 1.518.7 ff.), the bread fragments themselves, the two robbers' crosses, and the jar of sacred myrrh (HESYCHIUS MILESIUS, 1.41 [= *SOC*, 1.17.13 ff. (the *apparatus criticus* thereon)]). Frolow cites additional evidence and notes that the number of Christian relics under the column increased as the years went on (*RHR*, 127 [1944], 77, notes 1-2). This list of relics may well have been compiled by Byzantine writers to offset the pagan traditions about Constantine.

(128) Stressing the evidence of the pagan tradition and the claim that Constantine had erected a statue of Apollo, Preger concluded the emperor allowed himself to be portrayed as Helios (*Hermes*, 36 [1901], 459 ff.). Preger's hypothesis has gained the wide acceptance of many scholars. Karayannopulos rejected this theory and argued that Constantine slowly drifted away from paganism and gradually moved toward Christianity. He also noted that Preger seemed to down play the value of the Christian evidence (I. KARAYANNOPULOS, "Konstantin der Grosse und der Kaiserkult", in *Historia*, 5 [1956], 352-353).

(129) *Supra*, n. 100.

du Constantin païen et du Constantin chrétien ... les reliques chrétiennes et les symboles païens sont réunis dans *sa* statue, en lui n'existent pas les oppositions et les exclusives que l'histoire moderne croit reconnaître entre les religions : elles ne sont ici que des garanties cumulées" ([130]).

There is a common thread that runs throughout all the physical and literary evidence which deals with Constantine's political and religious stance after the events of 312. Constantine did nothing to stop the linkage in his subjects' minds between himself and *Sol Invictus.* This is not unusual since both Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors made use of the same rhetoric ([131]). In fact, the linkage could be stretched to include Christ. Although such an action may have bothered the strictly Orthodox who may have been scandalized by it, it apparently did not bother Eusebius of Caesarea who, on a number of occasions, spoke of the emperor in terms that could be applied to Helios ([132]). Eusebius clearly realized that Constantine was gradually laying the foundations for a Christian empire ; the *modus operandi* that the emperor was using was surely smoother than an abrupt transition.

Constantine's own vision of Christianity as well as the religious syncretism of the period allowed the emperor to act as he did. To Constantine, Christ, *Sol Invictus,* and his own person were closely linked. What Constantine wanted, Christ wanted ([133]). It does not matter when the conversion of Constantine occurred, only that it did occur. We do know, after all, that by the time of his death the emperor believed enough in the new religion to be baptized. Thus, the process that began at the Milvian Bridge in 312 was certainly completed by

(130) 42.

(131) KRAUTHEIMER, 61-63.

(132) *VC,* 1.2., 1.34, 3.10.

(133) Krautheimer writes that this was a concept "... deeply rooted in the Hellenistic tradition, of the ruler and the god being linked to one another in a particular and personal interaction. The god had taken his abode in the king ; or the Invincible Sun, *Sol Invictus,* and the emperor were interchangeable magnitudes, the god being the emperor's double and heavenly protector ... Constantine would have seen Christ not only as the ruler of mankind, but as his own personal godhead ... [H]e would have seen himself as an earthly double of Christ ... Christ the Logos rules in heaven as the Father's regent ... From there He guided the emperor's policies and every step. Thus divinely guided from above, Constantine rules below as regent ..." (66-67).

337, although it is impossible to chart in specific detail its exact course.

In conclusion, we have attempted to show in this paper that Constantine's vision of 312 has a basis in astronomical fact, although the emperor interpreted the event to suit his own needs. Additionally an attempt has been made to establish the account of Lactantius as the best sources of information on Constantine's vision. What were perceived to be errors in the Latin writer's narrative are not ; in fact, these so-called mistakes of Lactantius can be explained if the reader examines the text of the writer closely. The ambiguity that surrounds the vision of 312 also surrounds most of Constantine's actions throughout the rest of his reign ; this intentional ambiguity was probably exploited by the emperor in order to stabilize the new religious political system he was developing. Paganism no longer seemed able to serve the government ; perhaps Christianity could. The emperor probably realized that an abrupt change in religious underpinnings of the empire would fail ; for that reason, he took the gradual approach.

APPENDIX

The Eusebian Tradition of Constantine's Vision of the Cross

The Eusebian version of Constantine's vision of the cross contained in the *Vita Constantini* ([134]) gave rise to a myriad of different accounts of the apparition of the sequence of events that occurred in 312. The following narrative will attempt to weave many of the diverse texts into a cohesive and comprehensible account. This account is not meant to be all inclusive ; rather, it is only to serve as a general introduction to the topic.

The vision occurred around noon ([135]) or the sixth hour ([136]). The cross

(134) 1.28 ff.

(135) JOHN OF RHODES, *Artemii Passio*, 45 (Bidez, 7) ; SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.2, *PG*, 67, 37A-B ; ZONAR., 13.1.10 ; THEOPHYLACT. BULGAR., *Passio XV Martyr.*, 3, *PG.*, 126, 157B ; IGN. SEL., *Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 15 (Ioannou [ed.], 1884, 178).

(136) *Synopsis*, 42.7 ff. ; THEOPH., *AM*, 5802 (1.14.1 ff.) (= CEDRENUS, 1.474.14) ; Philostorgius notes that the cross was seen in the eastern part of the sky

itself was a pillar of light ([137]). It is said to have glowed like fire ([138]), or a rainbow ([139]). The celestial cross was surrounding with, or made of, stars ([140]). Most Greek sources, without indicating the language of the inscription, claim that it read *ἐν τούτῳ νίκα* ([141]). Several sources, however, state that the inscription was in Latin ([142]). Rufinus preserves a version of it in both languages, probably because his source, Eusebius, wrote in Greek ([143]).

Later sources added many details to the Eusebian version of the vision. Rufinus ([144]) and Sozomen ([145]) write that a chorus of angels appeared and told Constantine that he would be victorious if he used the sign of the cross in battle. Later in his narrative, Sozomen inserts the account of Eusebius concerning the vision of the cross ([146]). Ignatius of Selymbria claims that the voice of Jesus was heard amidst clashes of thunder, proclaiming the power of Constantine ([147]). In addition to the Eusebian and Lactantian visions, there are a number of other traditions about Constantine's vision of the cross. According to one, Constantine saw the vision for the first time while fighting

without giving any indication of the time of day when it appeared (*Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6 [Bidez, 7]).

(137) SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.2, *PG*, 67, 37A ff. ; other sources say that it was made of light (*Acts of Metro. and Alex. ap.* Photium, *PG*, 104, 108A ; *Synopsis*, 42.7 ff. ; THEOPH., *AM*, 5802 [1.14.2 ff.] [= CEDRENUS, 1.474.14 ff.] ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 311 [1.520.18 ff.]).

(138) RUFINUS, *(Euseb.) Hist. Eccl.*, 9.9 (= J. B. AUFHAUSER, *Konstantins Kreuzvision* [Bonn, 1911], 4).

(139) PHILOSTORGIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6 (Bidez, 7).

(140) ZONAR., 13.1.10 ; PHILOSTORGIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6 (Bidez, 7) ; JOHN OF RHODES, *Artemii Passio*, 45 (Bidez; 7) ; *Synopsis*, 42.10 ; THEOPHYLACT. BULGAR., *Passio XV Martyr.*, 3, *PG*, 126, 157B ; IGN. SEL., CEDRENUS, 1.474.14 ff.

(141) SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.2, *PG*, 67, 37A-B ; *Acts of Metro. and Alex. ap.* Photium, *PG*, 104, 108A-B ; THEOPH., *AM*, 5802 (1.14.3) (= CEDRENUS, 1.474.15 ff.) ; IGN. SEL., *Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 15 (Ioannou [ed.], 1884, 178).

(142) PHILOSTORGIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.6 (Bidez, 7) ; JOHN OF RHODES, *Artemii Passio*, 45 (Bidez, 7) ; ZONAR., 13.1.10 ; *Chron. P., ann.*, 311 (1.520.20).

(143) *(Euseb.) hist. Eccl.*, 9.9, *Constantine, τούτῳ νίκα ; quod est : in hoc vince* (= Aufhauser, 4) ; at least one later account seems to derive his account from Rufinus. Sozomen went directly to Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.*, 1.3.1 ff., *Κωνσταντίνε, ἐν τούτ νίκα*).

(144) *(Euseb.) Hist. Eccl.*, 9.9 (= Aufhauser, 4).

(145) *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.3.1 ff.

(146) *Ibid.*, 1.3.2 ff.

(147) *Vita Constantini et Helenae*, 15 (Ioannou [ed.], 1884, 178).

barbarians ([148]). It should be obvious that, although Eusebius' narrative served as the foundation of other versions of Constantine's vision, later authors did not hesitate to change internal detail to suit their own needs or whims. The reader will realize that the derivative accounts will generally differ from the Eusebian narrative.

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(148) Some sources vaguely note that the emperor saw the vision while he was engaging barbarian hordes (Malalas, 1.316.6 ff.; *Optasia Konstantinou tou megalou* [= Aufhauser, 19]). Leo the Deacon indicates that the barbarian tribes involved were the Scythians (*Hist.*, 8.9 [= *CSHB*, 1.138.18 ff.]); the *Vita Constantini (Patmos MS*, 179) argues remarkably enough that Constantine was fighting Britons on the Danube at the time (4.1 ff. [F. Halkin (ed.), *Analecta Bollandiana*, 77 [1959], 78]); this variant tradition is dated to 7 January 311 by the *Vita* or 313 by the *Optasia Konstantinou tou megalou* (= Aufhauser, 19).

THE LIFE AND IDEOLOGY OF BYZANTINE WOMEN : A FURTHER NOTE ON CONVENTIONS OF BEHAVIOUR AND SOCIAL REALITY AS REFLECTED IN ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURY HISTORICAL SOURCES

Much recent work has started to illuminate the obscurity in which hitherto scholars have left Byzantine women and their lifestyle ([1]), and attempted to define their role and status in Byzantine society as well as the ideology which shaped their lives ([2]). Studies on their education ([3]), literary patronage ([4]), legal status ([5]), monastic founda-

(1) See for example Charles DIEHL, *Byzantine Empresses* (London, 1927), and *Figures Byzantines* (Paris, 1939) ; Louis BRÉHIER, *Le monde byzantin : la civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1950), 10-12 ; Sp. LAMBROS, "*Ἡ γυνὴ παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς*", in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 17 (1923), 259 f. See also Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, II (2) (Athens, 1955) ; and J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, "La femme dans l'empire byzantin", in *Histoire mondiale de la femme*, III (Paris, 1967), 11-43. Bréhier believed women to be in a subservient position, while Lambros thought them treated with respect and reverence.

(2) Particularly important are Angeliki E. LAIOU, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society", in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (= *JÖB*), 31/1 (1981), 233-260 and "Addendum to the Report on the Role of Women in Byzantine Society", in *JÖB*, 32/1 (1982), 198-203. See also H. N. ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, "Women in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus", in *JÖB*, 32/2 (1982), 473-480 and Judith HERRIN, "In Search of Byzantine Women", in *Three Avenues of Approach*, in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed., Averil CAMERON and Amélie KUHRT (London/Canberra, 1983), 167-189.

(3) See Alice-Mary M. TALBOT, "Bluestocking Nuns : Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium", in *Okeanos : Harvard Ukrainian Studies VII* (Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko) (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 604-18 and Angela C. HERO, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople", in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985), 119-147.

(4) See Elizabeth M. JEFFREYS, "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy : Some Suggestions", in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed.

tions (6), and political influence (7) have clarified the details of their lives and the image to which Byzantine women related – an image for which their own typika and writings have contributed much valuable evidence (8) – and aristocratic and imperial women such as Irene Dukaina in the twelfth century and Theodora Synadene, Theodora Palaiologina and Irene Choumnaina in the fourteenth in particular have left evidence both for their spiritual and temporal priorities and for the material wealth and independence of female members of the imperial family during the late Byzantine period. This study is, however, primarily concerned with the ideology which is reflected in portraits of women and descriptions of their lifestyle and the conventions of behaviour and thought which are attributed to them : in particular, with the convention of seclusion as a suitable lifestyle for women and the relationship of this convention to its practice within the social reality of the time.

While it is but natural that imperial woman dominate our awareness of women's status in Byzantium (9), whose lifestyle would have

Michael Angold (Bar International Series, 221 ; Oxford, 1984), 202-210 and see below n. 98.

(5) Most comprehensive is the study of Joëlle BEAUCHAMP, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance", in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 20 (1977), 145-176.

(6) Angeliki E. LAIOU, "Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women", in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985), 59-102 ; Alice-Mary TALBOT, "Late Byzantine Nuns : By Choice or Necessity", in *Ibid.*, 103-117 ; Anne Marie WEYL CARR, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium : Introduction from an Art Historian", in *Ibid.*, 1-15 ; HERO, *op. cit.*, 119-147 ; and Alice-Mary M. TALBOT, "A comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women", in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 30 (1985), 1-20. See also Dorothy De F. ABRAHAMSE, "Women's Monasticism in the Middle Byzantine Period : Problems and Prospects", in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985), 35-58.

(7) See for example, Margaret MULLETT, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-Basilissa Maria", in *Byzantinoslavica*, 45 (1984), 202-11. A general historical summary is given by Joseph GILL, "Matrons and Brides of Fourteenth Century Byzantium", in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985), 39-56. LAIOU, "Addendum", 199 speaks of the "high participation of women of the dominant class in politics" after the eleventh century.

(8) See especially LAIOU, "Observations", 60 who uses texts in the writing of which women participated or which they themselves wrote "to establish the parameters of the female mentality".

(9) The concentration of Byzantine history on the Imperial family has, in many

differed greatly from that of their more lowly sisters, it is likely at least that the ideology expressed through them is representative of their society as a whole : that certainly in part they speak for the opinions and expectations and conventional attitudes of Byzantine women in general. Similarly, the fact that the historical evidence predominantly concerns the wealthy and literate classes, and in particular the imperial family, does not affect the validity of this approach, in which the treatment of the material may be said to be influenced as much by the readership and their expectations as by the subjects of the historial documents. Valuable information regarding women and the ideology which conditioned their behaviour can be adduced not merely from the handful of their own wills and typika, and the odd literary production such as the Alexiad – where for once a woman challenged male authors on their own terms – which, while of inestimable significance, are but few and far between, but also from their presentation in historical sources. Not only do these sources describe social reality through Byzantines eyes, they also provide specific evidence for Byzantine attitudes towards women and their role, through the conventions of thought and behaviour attributed to them by historians and, at second hand, by those surrounding them – husbands, children and outside observers – as related in the sources. The conventional ideology which influenced this picture need not, of course, bear any close relation to social reality in specific cases, and frequently it does not ; this lack of objectivity in historical sources, is, however, a feature frequently observed in Byzantine historical writings, where suitability of treatment, rather than objective reality, guides authors as they themselves recognise ([10]), while imperial iconography and literary

cases, led to misconception of Byzantine social reality. For the way modern historians have been "seduced by the 'grandes dames et belles dames' of Byzantium in a way that is both misleading and deceptive for any study of women in general", see HERRIN, *op. cit.*, 167 f.

(10) *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), pref., "... each of them put forward his own topic, the one praising an Emperor, another blaming a patriarch, the third lauding a friend – all carrying into effect their individual purpose under the guise of history ... and as they differ violently in the accounts which they give they have filled their listeners with vertigo and disturbance" (translated by P. J. ALEXANDER, "Secular Biography at Byzantium", in *Speculum*, 15 (1940), 196).

descriptions of Emperors and their families are generally subject to the distortions of flattery and caricature ([11]).

What, therefore, were the stereotypes of behaviour attributed to Byzantine women, and to what extent are they shown in our sources as being a feature of "real life" ? Many Byzantine women, especially in the late Byzantine period, were extremely wealthy and frequently handled and administered their own property, implying their potential power, both social and political, within both family and state. Their wielding of such power is uncontestable. Yet the normal behavioural conventions and appropriate social concepts associated with this so often disregarded moiety of Byzantine civilisation are quite otherwise : whatever the social reality, it becomes obvious that women were seen to be retiring, shy, fond of seclusion and modest to an extreme, devoted to their families and household and religious duties. The "women's quarters", that elusive feature of Byzantine life, here has its role. But it becomes clear that, whatever the ideology, the stereotype certainly did not fit the reality. For this, the most valuable source is Michael Psellos, whose picture of high life at court in the eleventh century can be paralleled by his descriptions of both his mother and daughter, in which, whatever the reality, he, like Anna Komnena in her account of her imperial parents, must be painting an ideal of personality and behaviour, and attributing to the women of his family all the Byzantine concepts of female perfection.

The conventions of description and treatment in historical and biographical sources, like those of theology and legislation which refect the prevailing official ideological models of correct behaviour, portray an ideology which both shaped and was shaped by Byzantine civilisation : while noted ([12]), they are however often regarded only as

(11) B. BALDWIN, "Physical Descriptions of Byzantine Emperors", in *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 8 f. For such descriptions see also C. HEAD, "Physical Descriptions of the Emperors in Byzantine Historical Writing", in *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 226-240. Such literary portraits have been compared to police descriptions of wanted men (R. BROWNING, "Homer in Byzantium", in *Viator*, 6 (1975), 28).

(12) LAIOU, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society", 233, "The Byzantines, normally reluctant to recognise and accept change, were even more conservative than usual in what concerned women. The narrative sources are replete with topoi when they treat the subject of women, thereby obscuring or distorting reality" ; and see also LAIOU, "Addendum to the report on the Role of Women in Byzantine Society", 198-203.

an impediment to a proper understanding of "social reality" ([13]). But while it is dangerous to accept conventions as reality, it is equally so to ignore their implications for historical truth, and indeed these very conventions clarify the role assigned to women by society and by themselves, as well as highlighting the contrast between what was expected and what, by deduction, actually was, and are often at variance with women's social and familial functions, of which the most obvious manifestation is their marriageability. The ideals of theology – virginity, celibacy and asceticism – seldom appear to have had any distinct influence upon Byzantine sexual relationships after the early centuries, though lip-service is often paid to the superiority of the celibate life. Except by theologians, virginity and celibacy are not generally regarded as suitable alternatives to matrimony for young people, especially in the imperial family, where princesses function as significantly useful matrimonial pawns, especially from the mid-twelfth century, and for them at least marriage is expected to be the norm ([14]). Similarly, Byzantine legislation gives a detailed picture of the rights and protection accorded to women in Byzantium : their status within marriage was traditionally inferior to that of men and they were in a position of disadvantage with regard to divorce. But legislation, which of necessity is conservative in its attitude towards women and marriage, does not necessarily reflect social reality and contemporary practice but rather the prevailing official ideological models of correct behaviour and deportment within the context of familial and social relationships ([15]). The ideals of theology too do not appear to have

(13) "Byzantine ideology, consistent with its exaltation of the woman in the family, allows her one primary occupation, that of running the household", LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 243 and see 244 ff. However, the fact that "the position of Byzantine women overall was manifestly subordinate" (HERRIN, "In Search of Byzantine Women", 185), and that conventions of behaviour reinforced this, does not imply that wives were without influence – social, moral, or political – within their own family.

(14) Princesses unmarried like Maria, daughter of Manuel I Komnenos, said to be still single at thirty or more, are unusual and pitiable. See CHONIATES, *Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 170 f. (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (= *CSHB*), 222), and cf. PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 5 (ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926), Vol. I, 27 f.) for the daughters of Constantine VIII.

(15) On the legal status of women and the family structure in Byzantium, see D. V. MPOSDAS, *Περὶ τοῦ Γάμου : Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν μελέτην τοῦ γάμου κατὰ τὴν Ἐκλογὴν τῶν Ἰσαύρων* (Athens, 1937) ; G. BUCKLER, "Women in Byzantine Law

had any distinct influence on Byzantine approaches to sexual relationships, despite the reverence consistently paid to such views ([16]). And indeed, like these disciplines, historical and biographical sources have their own conventions of treatment which are evident both in their handling of the role of women and of marriage in general.

Marriage, not the religious life, was the normal career for most girls of the upper classes, and it was very rare for princesses to take the veil before marriage, as did one of the daughters of each of the emperors Constantine VIII, Constantine X Dukas and Isaac II Angelos ([17]). Middle class families also considered it desirable that their daughters should marry and help to perpetuate the family, and generally women only entered convents on widowhood ; certainly where the transmission of family property was in question it would have been considered imprudent for more than one daughter to be devoted to the ascetic life. To many girls, however, and to widows also, the religious life must have seemed a better alternative to an arranged marriage with its attendant problems ([18]), while other girls, certainly in the early

about 1000 A.D.", in *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 391-416 ; BEAUCHAMP, *op. cit.*, 145-176 ; and A. E. LAIOU, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society", 233-260. For a general survey of Byzantine legislation, see Peter E. PIELER, "Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur", in *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur de Byzantiner*, ed. H. HUNGER, vol. II (München, 1978), 343-480.

(16) Certainly the effect was only spasmodic despite continuous preaching on sexual morality : "The Byzantines, like the British, appear to have had what Macaulay termed periodic fits or morality", P. HENRY, "The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of January A.D. 809", in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1969), 496.

(17) Eudokia, eldest daughter of Constantine VIII and Helena, was disfigured by an infectious illness in childhood. Physical appearance was very important to the Byzantines, and this explains her retirement from the world. She herself requested that her father dedicate her to the service of God, PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 5 (Renauld, 1, 27 f.). For Arete (Theodora Anna), elder daughter of Constantine X Dukas, see *ibid.*, VII, 20 (Renauld, II, 148). For the elder daughter of Isaac Angelos, who became a nun in the convent founded by Mary of Antioch, see CHONIATES, *Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 419 (*CSHB*, 548). For the Byzantine monastery as a "haven from the cares of this life", see TALBOT, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience", 8 f., and for orphans and young novices see TALBOT, "Late Byzantine Nuns", 105 f. For women escaping an unhappy marriage see *ibid.*, 108 f.

(18) Judith HERRIN, "Women and the Church in Byzantium", in *Bulletin of the British Association of Orientalists*, 11 (1979-80), 10 f. HERRIN, "In Search of

period, were forced by their parents to take the veil for economic or family reasons ([19]).

Nevertheless, although virginity was often an impracticable alternative to matrimonity for young people in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, it seems that it was common to make a pretence of objecting to marriage, until parental persuasion or pressure made it unavoidable. Theodote, the mother of Michael Psellos, according to her son married only at her father's wish for she would have preferred a celibate life :

> "*πρῶτα τοῖνυν ὁ ἐκείνης πατὴρ πεῖράν τινα κοινωνίας αὐτῇ προβαλόμενος, καὶ λόγους κινήσας πολλούς, ἐπεὶ μὴ πειθομένην εἶχεν, ἀφεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων πειθώ, ἐπὶ τὴν βίαν ἀπέκλινεν· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀρὰν αὐτῇ προσεποιεῖτο, φθάνει τῇ κατανεύσει τὴν προσποίησιν*" ([20]).

Even when married, Theodote still longed for a life of renunciation, but resigned herself to staying with her husband, eventually persuading him that they should separate and enter monastic establishments after the death of their eldest daughter ([21]). The same pretence of longing for the celibate life was also made by Anna Komnena in the prologue to her will, where she states that she was married only at the insistence

Byzantine Women", 181, "While resisting parental pressure to marry must have been especially difficult for young heiresses, there is considerable evidence for their absolute refusal to give up the relative independence gained on becoming widows".

(19) "Basile sait bien que bon nombre de vierges ne suivent pas une vocation, mais sont contraintes, souvent dès l'enfance, par leurs proches et entre autres leurs frères, pour des raisons d'intérêt" (Evelyne PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, IVe-VIIe siècles* (Paris, 1977), 130) ; see TALBOT, "Late Byzantine Nuns", 106.

(20) PSELLOS, "*Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ*", ed. K. N. SATHAS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, V (Paris, 1876), 8. Compare the mother of Theodore the Studite, who preferred celibacy but ensured that married life should not interfere with her religious duties (THEODORE THE STUDITE, *Laudatio Funebris in Matrem Suam*, II, *Migne PG*, 99, 884). For similar eulogies on dead mothers or daughters see J. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers Byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 195, 249 f. and 276 f. For Theodore's attitude towards marriage and the role of a good wife, see Jean GOUILLARD, "La femme de qualité dans les lettres de Théodore Stoudite", in *JÖB*, 32/2 (1982), 445-452 ; nevertheless (*ibid.*, 450), "le mariage demeure pour lui un moindre bien".

(21) PSELLOS, "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 22 and 28 ff.

of her royal parents, an unlikely protestation in view of her later political ambitions ([22]).

The topoi regarding unmarried women are especially significant for an understanding of female priorities. It is expected that the upbringing of daughters before their marriage should take place in the gynaeceum virtually in virginal seclusion. Whatever freedom married women might have enjoyed, it certainly did not extend to unmarried girls, who were supposed to be brought up in innocence and purity, an assumption due in part at least to the early age, technically as young as twelve years, at which girls could be married. In this respect ideals have changed little from the earliest Christian standards ([23]). These conventional sentiments have not greatly changed by the time Psellos is writing his young daughter's funeral oration. In many ways resembling her saintly grandmother Theodote, the pre-adolescent Styliane is educated in divine scriptures and domestic tasks, and modesty, piety, decency and great personal affection for her parents are the keynotes of her character. She is obviously adored by her father (Psellos tells us in a passage remarkable for its sincerity how he used to burn with pleasure at the mere sight of her ([24]) and he obviously gave her the education and upbringing which he thought would be most suitable and beneficial. This upbringing is apparently restricted : her weaving under the guidance of her mother is described at length, and this is her most important task apart from the reading of Scripture, in which she excels over all her classmates ([25]). It was expected that she would marry and Psellos talks of arranging a suitable match with

(22) "Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos", ed. E. KURTZ, *BZ*, 16 (1907), 93-101.

(23) For example, ST. JEROME, *Ep.*, 107, 4 believes a young girl should be kept under the watchful eye of her mother at all times, andbe surrounded by god-fearing servants. She should dress as simply as possible, eat plain food, drink wine only for medicinal purposes and be deaf to all music (cited by Anne YARBROUGH, "Christianization in the Fourth Century : the Example of Roman Women", in *Church History*, 45 (1976), 163).

(24) PSELLOS, "*Εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα Στυλιανὴν πρὸ ὥρας γάμου τελευτήσασαν*", ed. SATHAS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, V, 68. See Michael J. KYRIAKIS, "*Medieval European Society as seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos. Part III, Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, 4 (2) (1977), 157-160. Styliani may have died in late 1053 or early 1054 (*Ibid.*, 158).

(25) *Op. cit.*, 66. For the expertise of Psellos' mother in such domestic skills see "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 10.

the greatest of care on her behalf ; this future marriage was, however, not Styliane's concern at all as a young girl, and she was kept secluded so that her character and sense of decorum would not be spoiled by thinking too much about young men, just as her face would not be spoiled by make-up ([26]).

The Strategikon, or manual of advice, written by Kekaumenos for his son, probably between 1075 and 1078 ([27]), advises even more categorically almost total restraint for young women. Kekaumenos was a scion of the military aristocracy of Armenian background, and his work, which is a repository of conservativism and practical common sense, gives guidelines as to the behaviour proper to a nobleman and his family. He assumes that the women of the family, but particularly the unmarried daughters, spend their time very much in seclusion. Nevertheless, in view of their domestic tasks around the house, it is advisable not to invite guests to stay because contact with the ladies of the house is thus unavoidable, and they will not only be ogled unmercifully by the guest, even in the host's presence, but may even be seduced ([28]). Even one's own daughter cannot be trusted and is certainly not above suspicion ([29]). Her honour and its preservation is a point of extreme importance : a shameless daughter wrongs not only herself but her parents and family as well. It is therefore much more prudent to keep daughters locked up and unseen to save all possible causes of misfortune and dishonour : "*τὰς θυγατέρας σου ὡς καταδί-*

(26) *Op. cit.*, 73, 76 and 77. Compare the upbringing of the sister of Theodore the Studite.

> "*καταρτίζει τὸ θυγάτριον καὶ ὁ τρόπος θαυμαστός· οὔτε εἰς ὄψιν ἀρρένων φέρουσα, οὔτε τὰ γυναικικὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ περιδέξια καὶ περιπόρφυρα ὑποδεικνύουσα· πρὸς δὲ θεοσέβειαν ἀνάγουσα, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ἐκπαιδεύουσα, καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι ἐκδιδάσκουσα, καὶ τῶν λωβῶν τὰ ἕλκη ἐκμάσσεσθαι αὐτοχείρως ὑπαναγκάζουσα· καὶ τέλος, εἰς Θεὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια κάλλη ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνθένδε χαμαιζήλων τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κορίου μετάγουσα, Θεῷ ἀνατίθησιν*".

(*Laudatio Funebris in Matrem Suam*, *Migne PG*, 99, 888).

(27) *Cecaumeni strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus*, ed. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896 ; repr. Amsterdam, 1965). On authorship and dating, see P. LEMERLE, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kekaumenos* (Brussels, 1960), esp. 18 ff.

(28) KEKAUMENOS, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.

(29) *Ibid.*, 55.

κους ἔχε ἐγκεκλεισμένας καὶ ἀπροόπτους, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀσπίδος δηχθῇς" ([30]). This misogynist thus believes that a harem-like seclusion is all that will serve to save young women from their own evil propensities and from the attacks of unscrupulous outsiders. This attitude demonstrates clearly the conventional proprieties of isolation and of strictly decorous behaviour when in company, for girls and even married women ([31]), but at the same time it should be noted that these precautions were probably justifiable in view of the Byzantine attitude towards passionate love ([32]) and the obvious ways in which Empresses and women of the imperial family were seen both to be easily susceptible to passion ([33]) and to enjoy their relative social freedom in a manner which even their biographers are unable to approve ([34]).

(30) *Ibid.*, 51.

(31) See GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *op. cit.*, 30 and KOUKOULES, *op. cit.*, 174-8.

(32) For its insanity and irrationality see for example SCYLITZES, *op. cit.*, 390 (*CSHB*, 504 f.) "*πρὸς τοῦτον ἡ βασιλὶς ἔρωτα δαιμονιώδη σχοῦσα καὶ μανικόν*" for Zoe and Michael IV ; PSELLOS, *Chron.*, VI, 50-1 (Renauld, I, 142) and ZONARAS, XVII, xxi *Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder and M. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, *CSHB*, 1897), III, 618 f. for Constantine Monomachos and Skleraina ; PSELLOS, *Chron.*, VI, 145 (Renauld, II, 41) and ZONARAS XVII, xxviii (*CSHB*, III, 648) for the passion of Constantine Monomachos and his jester Boilas for the hostage Alan princess ; ZONARAS, XVIII, x (*CSHB*, III, 683-5) for Eudokia ; KINNAMOS, VI, 1, *Historia*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, *CSHB*, 1836), 250, and CHONIATES, 139 f. (*CSHB*, 181 f.) for Andronikos Komnenos and Philippa of Antioch ; KINNAMOS, VI, 1 (*CSHB*, 250) and CHONIATES, 141 f. and 226 (*CSHB*, 184-6, 295) for Andronikos Komnenos and his cousin Theodora, daughter of Isaac the sevastokrator ; for John Vatatzes and the Marchesina, see AKROPOLITES, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, I (Stuttgart, 1903), 104 ; and for Michael VIII's supposed passion for Constance-Anna, widow of Vatatzes, see PACHYMERES, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, III, 7, "*ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον ἔγνω θεραπεύειν τὸν τυραννοῦντα μανικὸν ἔρωτα*" (ed. I. Bekker (*CSHB*, Bonn, 1835), Vol. I, 182).

(33) Zoe, in particular, seems to have been susceptible to physical attraction : see PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, III, 18-19 ; VI, 13 and 16 (Renauld, I, 45 f., 123 and 125) ; ZONARAS, XVII, xiii and xx (*CSHB*, III, 582 f., 614 f.) and cf. XVIII, x (*CSHB*, III, 683 f.) and SCYLITZES, 390 (*CSHB*, 504 f.). For her sexual appetite see PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, III, 17, 23 (Renauld, I, 41, 48 f.) ; and ZONARAS, XVII, xiii and xx (*CSHB*, III, 582, 614). Compare their acquittal of the Empress Eudokia and her motives for remarrying (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 4 (Renauld, II, 154) ; ZONARAS, XVIII, x (*CSHB*, III, 683-5)).

(34) For Zoe's affair with Michael (IV) and their marriage, see PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, III, 18 ff. (Renauld, I, 44 ff.) ; for the deliberations on a third marriage, and her choice of Constantine Monomachos, see *ibid.*, VI, 10 ff. (Renauld, I, 121-127) ; for her liking for Constantine Katepanos, secretary to Romanos III and

Clearly the fact that 'love' was in all respects reprehensible and that the Byzantines placed great stress on physical appearance contributed to the convention that a secluded existence was the most suitable for women in all ranks of life, unless public duties made it impossible ; indeed a degree of sexual relationship is implied to be a natural and unavoidable consequences of frequent contact with a member of the opposite sex, even between close relations ([35]).

According to prevailing convention, women, married and unmarried, were expected to be retiring, and to have little contact with men except with the male members of their immediate family ([36]). Outside the shelter of the gynaeceum, women were expected at all times to wear a veil, symbolic of woman's retiring and modest nature, which revealed only eyes and nose, to keep their eyes downcast, and, if possible, to address no member of the opposite sex except their husbands and close relations ([37]). These conventions applied both in

the scandal which her delight in the company of Constantine Monomachos gave rise to in her first husband's reign, see *ibid.*, VI, 13 and 16 (Renauld, I, 123 and 125) and see also ZONARAS, XVII, xiii-xx (*CSHB*, III, 581-616) and SCYLITZES, 390 f., (*CSHB*, 504 f.) ; for Constantine's longstanding and public affair with the aristocrat Skleraina, niece of his second wife, see *ibid.*, VI, 50 ff. (Renauld, I, 141 ff.) ; and for Eudokia's secret arrangements to marry Romanos Diogenes, see *ibid.*, VII, 4-9 (Renauld, II, 154-157).

(35) For the affair between Andronikos Komnenos and Manuel I's niece Theodora see KINNAMOS, VI, 1 (*CSHB*, 250), and for the "free interaction of Palaeologan aristocratic women with men" (LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 250), see GREGORAS, *Byzantina Historia* VIII, 3, ed. L. Schopen (*CSHB*, 1829) I, 293 f. for the despot Constantine and Eudokia, daughter of Neokaisarites. The theory of female sexuality also affected monastic regulations for women : see ABRAHAMSE, *op. cit.*, 44-6.

(36) Seclusion for romance heroines was also a Byzantine literary convention in both learned and popular romance. See *Digenis Akrites*, ed. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956), IV, 492-500 (*GRO*) ; *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας*, vol. II, ed. P. Kalonaros (Athens, 1970), 11. 77 ff. (*AND*)) ; *Digenes Akrites*, ed. E. Trapp (Wien, 1971), 11. 70 ff. (Z). For learned romance, see PRODROMOS, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, I, 162 ff., and II, 171 ff. ; EUGENIANOS, *Charikles and Drosilla*, II, 57 ff. ; and MAKREMBOLITES, *Hysmine and Hysminias, I, 8-10 and XI, 11 (ed. R. HERCHER, Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1859).

(37) See Ph. KOUKOULES, "*Βυζαντινὰ καὶ οὐχὶ τουρκικὰ ἔθιμα*", in *BZ*, 30 (1929-30), 182 f. ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexiad*, II, 5, 8 (ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), I, 78), calls the veil "*τὴν ἐπικαλύπτουσαν ὀθόνην τὸ προσώπον*". See BRYENNIOS, I, 20, *Histoire.* Introduction, texte, traduction et notes par Paul GAUTIER (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, Series Bruxellensis, vol. IX, 1975, pp. 123-125

upper and in middle-class families. Theodote, according to her son, raised her veil in public for the first time only when her son collapsed at his sister's grave, and the death of her husband was the only occasion on which Psellos saw her betray emotion ([38]). He actually criticizes the Empress Zoe for forgetting her rank and sex when she leaves the palace on foot in an emotional attempt at seeking a last interview with her dying husband Michael IV, showing not that she was normally "secluded" but that in so doing she had harmed her Imperial dignity ([39]). On the death of Alexios I, the Empress Irene's first act of mourning was to exchange her imperial veil for a simple black one borrowed from her daughter Eudokia, a strange priority indeed, which demonstrates the importance of this piece of apparel so characteristic of Byzantine women ([40]), whose ideal qualities are described in Psellos' eulogy on the decorous behaviour of the Empress Maria, wife of Michael VII Dukas :

> "It would be superfluous to praise the empress because of her family ... her own pre-eminence, not only in virtue, but also in beauty, is commendation enough. If, as the tragic poet says 'silence is a women's glory' then she above all other women is worthy of honour, for she speaks to no one but her husband, and her natural loveliness is far more effective than any artificial adornment dictated by convention" ([41]).

(= *Historia*) (*CSHB*, Bonn, 1836) ed. A. Meineke, 46 for the Empress Eudokia, "*Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αἰσθομένη οὐδὲ καθεκτὴ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς περιελομένη τὸ κάλυμμα ἐπί τι οἴκημα ἄδυτον ἐμφερὲς σπηλαίῳ ἐξώρμα*", and cf. PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 29 (Renauld, II, 163). For the convention of keeping eyes respectfully fixed on the ground in the presence of royalty see *ibid.*, VI, 3 (Renauld, I, 118).

(38) "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 30 and 39 f.

(39) *Chronographia*, IV, 53 (Renauld, I, 84) "*Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ βασιλὶς κρείττων ἐγεγόνει τοῦ πάθους, ἀλλ', ἐπειδή περ τοῦτο παρά του μεμαθήκει, κατατολμᾷ μὲν πάσης ἄρρενος ὄψεως, τὴν δὲ φύσιν παραβιάζεται καὶ πεζῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄπεισιν*", also mentioned by ZONARAS, XVII, xvii (*CSHB*, III, 604).

(40) *Alexiad*, XV, 11, 20 (Leib, III, 240 f.).

(41) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 9 (Renauld, II, 177), tr. E. R. A. SEWTER, *Michael Psellos. Fourteen Byzantines Rulers* (Penguin, 1979), 372. Indeed, if the rumours surrounding Maria were true (for which see n. 108) Psellos' eulogy of his pupil's wife here bears no relation to her actual behaviour and aims. Cf. Theophylact's praise of Maria the Alan as the ideal Empress, *Institutio Regia*, VII-XIII (*Migne PG*, 126, 260-6). Psellos also praises the Empress Zoe for not indulging in the despicable feminine trait of talkativeness or emotional outbursts when confined

Here, as in his description of the modesty of her husband, to whose cheeks even the sound of the word 'love' would bring a deep blush ([42]), Psellos in his implied judgement that such perfect behaviour is unusual highlights the fact that not all women were able to live up to the strict standards imposed by the conventional ideology prescribing female behaviour.

Similarly modest is the Empress Irene Dukaina, whom her daughter Anna Komnena portrays as the ideal wife and Empress and a model of the best behaviour. Indeed, Anna would have her readers believe that Irene would have preferred to shun all public duties and remain secluded within the palace ; only her affection for her husband enabled her to overcome her innate modesty and share his duties, instead of occupying herself in household matters and the study of Scripture :

> "Whenever she had to appear in public as empress at some important ceremony, she was overcome with modesty and a blush at once suffused her cheeks ... Well, the empress, my mother, the image of majesty, the dwelling-place of saintliness, so far from being pleased to reveal to the common gaze an elbow or her eyes, was unwilling that even her voice should be heard by strangers. Her modesty was really extra-ordinary" ([43]).

It is natural that not all women would have behaved in so retiring a fashion, and Anna here is describing a paradigm of ideal behaviour not the canons of social reality, which all women should admire and emulate. Irene in fact used to accompany her husband on his military campaigns, so anxious was she not to let him out of her sight – a proceeding which led to jokes and lampoons – but Anna stresses that it was only her great wifely devotion that enabled her mother to overcome her unwillingness and sense of decorum and do so ([44]), and

by her young husband Michael IV (*Chron.*, IV, 16 ; Renauld, I, 62). Cf. GREGORAS, IV, 3 (*CSHB*, I, 92) on Constance-Anna and KINNAMOS, I, 4 on Piroska-Irene and V, 1 on Bertha-Irene (*CSHB*, 9 and 202).

(42) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI, 3 (Renauld, II, 174), and cf. ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexiad*, X, 5 (Leib, II, 208).

(43) *Alexiad*, XII, 3, 2-3, tr. E. R. A. SEWTER, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (Penguin, 1979), 375 ; cf. also III, 3, 4 (Leib, III, 59 f. and I, 112).

(44) *Alexiad*, XII, 3, 2-10 (Leib, III, 59-64) ; LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 249, "Irene Doukaina went on campaign with her husband and her daughter was at some pains to reconcile this fact with the social norm, which would still prefer women to shun the company of men". For the freedom permitted to women of the

is careful to state that her demeanour ensured that she was not generally accessible and that she was treated with all proper respect ([45]). Anna's remarks too about herself imply her appreciation of decency and propriety ([46]). The importance of this stylization of behaviour and convention can be seen in the episode of the prostitute whom Psellos' sister, in her naivety, attempts to reform. While living on his sister's charity, this lady of easy virtue begins to walk round with downcast head, wears a veil, goes to church and blushes if anyone looks at her : she also stops wearing rings and gaudy footwear. Her conduct, however, does not continue to match her conventionally modest behaviour and her decorous deportment promptly comes to an end when she is found to be pregnant ([47]). At a very different social level Psellos praises the demeanour of the Empresses Zoe and Theodora, though he admits them to be unsuited for power, because they behave in public and give their orders decorously, while he disapproves of Eudokia, widow of Constantine X Dukas, a competent ruler and "une sorte de bas-blue byzantin" ([48]), not only because of her political decisions but because she behaves autocratically in public ([49]), and historians' greatest criticism is generally reserved for overtly dominant and domineering women ([50]).

Imperial family in the Alexiad, see Georgina BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena. A Study* (Oxford, 1929), 114-129.

(45) XII, 3, 6 ; "These were the reasons that thrust aside her natural reserve and gave her courage to face the eyes of men. And yet, even then, she did not forget her customary decorum : a look, a silence, the retinue about her were enough to ensure that to most of them she remained inaccessible", tr. SEWTER, *Alexiad*, 376 (Leib, III, 61 f.). Cf. THEOPHYLACT, *Oratio in Alexium Comnenum*, *Migne PG*, 126, 301.

(46) Modesty forbids Anna, as a woman and a princess, to elaborate on the punisment of the German envoys by Pope Gregory (*Alexiad*, I, 13) ; and modesty, as a woman, and the eldest of Alexios' children, prevents her from giving a full account of the Bogomil heresy which would sully her tongue (XV, 9). Cf. Anna's conventional expressions of extreme grief at the loss of her husband (XV, 11 and pr. 4) (Leib, I, 48 ; III, 223 and 241 f. ; I, 6-8).

(47) PSELLOS, "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 26-8. The veil is symbolic of feminine propriety ; CHONIATES, 460 (*CSHB*, 606) speaks of the Empress Euphrosyne as "*τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς αἰδοῦς ἀτιμάσασα*".

(48) A. RAMBAUD, "Michel Psellos", in *Revue Historique*, 3 (1877), 273.

(49) *Chronographia*, VI, 3 (Renauld, I, 118) on Zoe and Theodora "*δεῆσαν δέ ποτε καὶ αἱ βασιλίδες ἠρεμαίᾳ φωνῇ προσέταττον ...*" ; see VI, 5 for their inability to govern and for Theodora's sole rule see VII, 2 (Renauld, I, 119 ; II, 72) ; and *Chronographia*, VII, 1 (Renauld, II, 152) on Eudokia "... *καὶ τὰς βασιλείους φωνὰς*

The ideology of the middle-classes was clearly as strict as that of the aristocracy and probably more so, and Psellos, whose origins were hardly upper-class ([51]), gives us an ideal picture of the middle-class wife and mother, which must, however idealized, have seemed a credible portrait to his contemporaries ([52]). He describes an ideal woman, a saint incarnate, a good wife and a beloved mother, who fills woman's most important role ([53]). Theodote is talented, beautiful, educated in theology, an expert at all household tasks and a capable wife and mother. Though she desired the religious life, she reconciles herself to marriage, and despite her scorn of finery and abhorrence of

ἀπαγγέλλουσα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ περιὸν τοῦ φρονήματος". Psellos also strongly criticizes her for her decision to remarry, a decision which shame and modesty hinder her from communicating (*ibid.*, VII, 5 ; Renauld, II, 155).

(50) See for example, Zonaras' criticism of Irene Doukaina, XVIII, xxiv and xxvi (*CSHB*, III, 747 and 754) ; Choniates, 10 (*CSHB*, 15) on Anna Komnena ; Psellos, *Chronographia*, VI, 100 (Renauld, II, 14 f.) on Euprepia, sister of Constantine Monomachos ; Choniates, 230 ff. on Maria Caesarissa, daughter of Manuel I Komnenos, and 454-7, 460 f. and 519 on Euphrosyne, wife of Alexios III Angelos (*CSHB*, 300 ff., 598-602, 606 f., 687) ; and Gregoras, VII, 5 (*CSHB*, I, 235 f. and 240 f.) on Yolanda-Irene, wife of Andronikos II Palaiologos. All these ladies are criticised for behaving in an improperly masterful and unfeminine way ; cf. Pachymeres, II, 19 and II, 26 (*CSHB*, II, 154 f., 180 f.). Even supporters of such strong-minded ladies feel comment to be necessary : see *Alexiad*, III, 6 (Leib, I, 119-22) and Bryennios, ed. P. Gautier, I, 21 (*CSHB*, 46-8) (for Anna Dalassena) ; Kantakuzenos, *Historiae*, I, 25 ed. L. Schopen (*CSHB*, 1828-32) (I, 125) and Gregoras, XI, 2 (*CSHB*, I, 530) (on Theodora Palaiologina, mother of John VI Kantakuzenos). For an unusually favourable view of a strong-minded masculine woman (Maria, sister of Manuel I Komnenos) see Kinnamos, II, 4 (*CSHB*, 36).

(51) Kyriakis, *op. cit.*, 173 f.

(52) St. Theodore the Studite's oration on his mother, also in the tradition which Psellos is following, speaks almost entirely of his mother's saintly qualities, and little of her relationship with her husband :

> "*ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ ποτε εἰς εὐωχίαν προύκαλεῖτο γαμικὴν, λανθανόντως ὑπεξῆγεν ἑαυτὴν μηδόλως ἁπτομένη κρεῶν, μηδὲ τὸ ὄμμα αἴρουσα εἰς τὰ θυμελικὰ παίγνια· καὶ γὰρ ἦν σώφρων εἰ καί τις ἄλλη, ἕνα ἄνδρα γνωρίσασα, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μετὰ τὴν ἀποταγὴν τοσοῦτον εἰς ἄκρον ἀγνεύσασα, ὡς καὶ μέχρι λογισμοῦ τυραννήσεως ἀκριβεύεσθαι*".

(*Oratio*, XIII, *Laudatio Funebris in Matrem Suam*, *Migne PG*, 99, 885).

(53) "Rien ne fut plus uni, plus calme, plus modeste, et en un certain sens plus *banal* que son existence", Ch. Diehl, *Figures Byzantines*, I (Paris, 1906), 292 (my italics).

luxury, makes an effort to look attractive "*ἵνα μὴ ἀπαίσιος τῷ ἀνδρὶ φαίνοιτο*" ([54]). Her affection was clearly reciprocated by her husband, whose last words as she was dying were that Psellos should care for his mother : "*σὺ δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτῷ παρακέλευε μὴ θρηνεῖν, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἁρκοῦσα παραμυθία γενοῦ*" ([55]). Theodote's sense of modesty and decorum is high, and much praised by her son – "*ὦ σώφρων ἐκείνης ὀφθαλμὸς ἐς γῆν μὲν κεκυφὼς καὶ τὰ πόρρω κατειληφώς !*" ([56]) – while her veil is never lifted in public, and she avoids all display of emotion ([57]), except at her husband's death when convention naturally demanded it. Yet despite her conventional behaviour, she is obviously the dominant partner of the marriage, and was certainly the one responsible for her son's success in life. Her dedication to her son's interests were renowned : Anna Komnena speaks of Theodote's piety and ambition for Psellos, and describes how she spent whole nights in church making invocation on his behalf ([58]). Indeed, Theodote can hardly be said to have led a secluded or repressed life. According to Psellos, it was her decision that led to his being educated, even when he was only eight years old, despite the opposition of the rest of the family who would have preferred him to follow a more profitable profession. It was a dream of hers that finally swayed the family councils, and she always encouraged him, testing his memory, hearing him read, and staying up with him at night to help and correct him ([59]). She made a point of doing her duty in every sphere of life : telling her children stories from the Scriptures and never fairy-tales ([60]), looking after her parents in their old age ([61]), and being remarkably active in her daily life. Not only did she decline to take it easy for the rest of her life after her first child was born as Psellos implies most women did ([62]), but the time not given to her

(54) PSELLOS, "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 23.
(55) *Ibid.*, 9 and 38.
(56) *Ibid.*, 15.
(57) *Ibid.*, 30 and 39 f. She deliberately avoids showing affection to her children (*ibid.*, 17 f.). For disinterest in politics and public affairs, see *ibid.*, 24. *Ibid.*, 20 she addresses her husband with due respect "*πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν διάταξιν*".
(58) *Alexiad*, V, 8, 3 (Leib, II, 34).
(59) "*Ἐγκώμιον*", 12-14 and 21.
(60) *Ibid.*, 17.
(61) *Ibid.*, 19.
(62) *Ibid.*, 10.

children's education was devoted to charity and household chores, particularly weaving, for she made clothes not only for the family and servants but for the poor as well ([63]), and once in the nunnery that she founded after her daughter's death she undertook the ascetic life she had always wanted, shortening her life greatly by her self-mortification and abstinence ([64]). So important is her role within the family and so superior her character that Psellos can specifically describe her relationship with his father in the most unexpectedly modern terms :

> "*Τῷ δέ γε ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐ συνεργὸς μόνον καὶ βοηθὸς ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα κατὰ τὴν θείαν διάταξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωτουργὸς τῶν καλλίστων καὶ εὑρετής*" ([65]).

As significant is the unprecedented view of Theodote herself, this housewife so apparently wedded to the prevailing behavioural conventions, of the equality of the sexes :

> "*ἐδίκασε δὲ ἄμφω καὶ τῷ θήλυϊ καὶ τῷ ἄρρενι, οὐ τῷ μὲν δοῦσα τὸ μεῖζον, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ γένει τὸ ἔλαττον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀλογίστου διαιτητοῦ, καὶ οὐ δεδοκιμασμένης τῆς διαιτήσεως· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἀμφοῖν ἀπονείμασα· εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σώματος τόνος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν γενοῖν διάφορος, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος ἴσος καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος* ([66])".

Conventions of behaviour, therefore, whether supposedly intended to protect woman from seduction or to prevent them from designedly seducing men, were doubtless of little hindrance to Byzantine women in real terms ; at least, according to Michael Psellos, they could not only make the most of cosmetics (in which Zoe in particular took a passionate interest) and rich clothes and ornaments, but knew how to be just as fascinating without such luxuries :

> "Lovely women, of course, enhance their beauty by the wearing of simple clothes ; the veil with which they conceal it only serves to make

(63) *Loc. cit.*

(64) *Ibid.*, 33 ff.

(65) *Ibid.*, 19, but see KYRIAKIS, *op. cit.*, 181 ; for another marriage of reciprocal affection and confidence (that of Theodote's parents) see *ibid.*, 5,

> "*ἤδεισαν δὲ μόνον ἀλλήλους ἀμφότεροι, καὶ δι' ἑκατέρων ὡς οἰκειοτάτων παραδειγμάτων πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐρρυθμίζοντο, μορφοῦντες ὁμοῦ καὶ μορφούμενοι, πρωτότυπά τε ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ μιμήματα, τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, καὶ λαμβάνοντες μὲν ὃ διδόασι, διδόντες δὲ αὖθις τὸ λαμβανόμενον*".

(66) *Ibid.*, 51. In this concept of equality between the sexes Theodote is certainly ahead of her time ; see LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 258 (for John Apokaukos).

more evident their radiant glory, and a garment carelessly worn is just as effective, when they wear it, as the most carefully prepared make-up" ([67]).

Historical sources clearly show that in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods strict conventions of behaviour did not affect the scope of the extra-marital affairs commonly indulged in by members of the imperial family, and did not have, in real terms, the effect of preventing either illicit contact between the sexes, or the social and economic independence of noble and even middle class women. In particular, these conventions did not prevent women from wielding power, both social and political, whether like Theodote they ruled a family, or like Zoe, Theodora and Eudokia Makrembolitissa, an Empire: redoutable women such as Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexios I Komnenos, greatly praised by her granddaughter for her administrative abilities and strength of mind, managed easily to do both. But lip-service was paid to those women, who, like the wife of the rebel general Alexios Branas, when his decapitated head was exhibited in her presence, recognised the propriety of silence ([68]), though such conventional decorum could come to grief when in contact with barbaric non-Byzantines, as the divorced daughter of the protostrator when married by Alexios III Angelos to the Vlach ruler Chrysos, realised to her cost ([69]).

Despite the dichotomy in many cases between the ideal of female behaviour in principle and in practice, certain stereotyped occupations were not mere conventions but clearly a reality of women's lifestyle,

(67) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 87 (Renauld, II, 135) trans. Seuter, Michael Psellus, 327. Compare Gregoras' criticism of make-up and forward appearance, "Zweigriechische Texte über die hl. Theophano", ed. E. KURTZ, *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VIII, ser. III (2) (1898), 34. For Zoe's obsessive interest in concocting perfumes and ungents, and her beautiful skin, see *Chronographia*, VI, 64 and 6 (Renauld, 1, 148 and 120).

(68) CHONIATES, 389 (*CSHB*, 507), "*οἶδά*" *φησι* "*καὶ ταλανίζω ἐμαυτήν*". *ἦν γὰρ σώφρων ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιπρέπουσαν τῷ θήλει σιωπὴν τιθεμένη περὶ πολλοῦ*".

(69) CHONIATES, 507 f. (*CSHB*, 672 f.), "*ὁ μὲν Χρύσος ἐζωροπότει καὶ ἤσθιε τενθευόμενος, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὸν τῶν νεονύμφων αἰδουμένη νόμον ἐγκρατῶς εἶχε τῶν παρακειμένων. ἐπιταχθεῖσα δὲ πρὸς τοῦ νυμφίου συμμετέχειν ἐκείνῳ βρώσεως καὶ μὴ οὕτως αὐτίκα δράσασα εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκμαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμέλει καὶ πλεῖστα καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποβαρβαρίσας καὶ θυμομαχήσας ἐφ' ἱκανὸν μεθ' ὑπεροψίας ἔφησεν ὕστερον* "*μὴ φάγῃς μηδὲ πίῃς*" *Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ*".

namely the domestic skills which remained an archetypal part of woman's status and function. Spinning and weaving, particularly, typified the role and occupation of Byzantine women, which seems reasonable for Theodote and Styliane in a middle-class household such as Psellos', but such activities were also expected to be practised by members of the imperial family, who can have had no financial reasons for such occupations. Psellos twice makes the point of stating how unusual the Empress Zoe was in declining to spend a large part of her time weaving ; George Tornikios in his funeral oration on Anna Komnena states that Anna had exchanged the distaff and spindle for learning (in other words, her time was spent with books, not in normal female pastimes), while Tzetzes, in his Chiliades, urges her to return to her spindle and renounce learning, which is man's concern ([70]). At an imperial level such activities would have been useless in practical terms but were obviously thought to be suitably feminine and correct occupations for women in all ranks of life, as embroidery was for Victorian women ([71]). Even in monastic institutions it appears that weaving, spinning and embroidery were part of the nuns' regular routine and contributed to the convents' income ([72]). To an extent, such occupations imply the need for "women's quarters" where looms can be set up and work continued undisturbed, and the existence of such quarters certainly does not necessarily imply that women are

(70) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI, 64 ; VI, 159 (Renauld, I, 148, II, 49) ; J. DARROUZÈS, *Georges et Demetrius Tornikes, Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 229 f. ; JOANNIS TZETZAE, *Historiae* recensuit P. A. LEONE (Napoli, 1968) ; Th. KIESSLING, *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiarum Variarum Chiliades* (Leipzig, 1826), 517. See R. BROWNING, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration of Anna Comnena", in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 188 (n.s. 8) (1962), 1-12 ; LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 243-5, and 253 f. ; and Ph. KOUKOULES, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ Λαογραφικά*, I (Athens, 1950), 426-439. Cf. KEKAUMENOS, *op. cit.*, 42-3 and PSELLOS, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γυναικείας πανηγύρεις τῆς Ἁγάθης*, ed. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, V, 527-531, esp. 528 f.

(71) See for example, Choniates' account of the attack on Corinth in 1147 by Roger II of Sicily and his insult to the defenders, "*κακῶς φάσκων τοὺς ἔνδον καὶ πλύνων ὀνείδεσιν ὡς ἀγεννεῖς τὰ πολέμια, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Χαλούφην, ὃν καὶ γυναικὸς ὠνόμαζε μαλακώτερον μηδὲν ἐπισταμένης πλέον τῆς ταλασιουργοῦ γυναικωνίτιδος*" (*op. cit.*, 75 f. ; *CSHB*, 101).

(72) LAIOU, "Observations", 90 f. ; TALBOT, "Late Byzantine Nuns" ; 12 ; ABRAHAMSE, *op. cit.*, 56 "... the activities of convents appear to have been the fairly standard household occupations associated with clothmaking reading and education". For the manufacture of embroidery see CARR, *op. cit.*, 13.

secluded therein ([73]). Obviously, in the mid eleventh century, the women's quarters in the palace seem to have been no more than private apartments. The "jester" Boilas entertained the aged Empresses Zoe and Theodora there with farce and broad jokes and is described as having unlimited access to these quarters ([74]), and the detailed description both of the way in which Zoe is strictly imprisoned in the gynaeceum by her husband Michael IV, and of that in which her adopted son Michael V controls her maidservants and keeps the women's quarters under close supervision, shows that such restrictions were abnormal and extremist ([75]). Psellos' remark that the joint reign of Zoe and Theodora turned the woman's quarters into the Imperial Council Chamber, a phrase also used by Zonaras, is presumably metaphorical rather than an accurate statement of affairs ([76]), while his criticism that they confused the business of the women's quarters with matters of state is primarily a sign both of their unfitness to rule and of the concept that women have concerns other than men ([77]). While Imperial women were thus hardly secluded, it is however possible that conditions for women may have been stricter outside of the imperial family, particularly in the upper and middle classes, where seclusion for women would have been economically and socially possible, without the cramped housing conditions and economic necessities affecting working women of the lower classes. According to Psellos

(73) ABRAHAMSE, *op. cit.*, 55. "The idea at least ... was one of a secluded existence, often lived out in separate quarters. Women's domain was to be the household, where she was praised for good management and training of slaves and small children". Women are thus not so much secluded as engaged in responsible, time-consuming occupations.

(74) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI, 144 (Renauld, II, 40 f.) ; Zonaras XVII, xxvii (*CSHB*, III, 644 f.).

(75) *Ibid.*, IV, 16 ; V, 17 (Renauld, I, 62, and 96) ; ZONARAS, XVII, xiv (*CSHB*, III, 586 f.). For the earlier accessibility of the gynaikonitis, see SCYLITZES, 280 (*CSHB*, 376) (on Nikephoros Phokas).

(76) *Ibid.*, VI, 1 (Renauld, I, 117) ; cf. also VI, 10 (Renauld, I, 122) ; see ZONARAS, XVII, xx (*CSHB*, III, 613), "*κατηντήκει τοίνυν περὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἡ. τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή*". Cf. *Alexiad*, III, 7, 2 where the same metaphor is used to describe the power of Anna Dalassena in her son's reign (Leib, I, 123).

(77) *Chronographia*, VI, 5 (Renauld, I, 119). For their extravagance and susceptibility to sycophants and flattery, see *ibid.*, VI, 7-8 (Renauld, I, 120 f.) and cf. *ibid.*, VI, 157-8 (Renauld, II, 48 f.). For the term used in a derogatory sense see also THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (*CSHB*, 1838), 345.

women took a major part in the riot against Michael V for his treatment of Zoe, many of whom had never before been seen outside of the women's quarters ([78]). While Psellos is presumably exaggerating for effect, it is significant that the women should be said to apostrophise Zoe "*ποῦ ποτε ἡ μόνη τῶν πασῶν ἐλευθέρα, ἡ τοῦ ζύμπαντος γένους δεσπότις ...*", referring presumably to her greater social freedom ([79]). It should be stated however that in 1185 women were also in the streets to witness and indeed participate in the destruction of the tyrant Andronikos Komnenos ([80]), and therefore their appearance in public here is not unique.

The ladies of the imperial family in the Alexiad certainly have a great deal of freedom both inside and out of the palace, and consort freely with courtiers, scholars and doctors. Maria of Alania, when still the wife of Nikephoros Botaneiates, was freely and frequently visited by the young Komneni brothers ([81]) ; philosophers and scholars visit

(78) *Ibid.*, V, 26 (Renauld, I, 102) and cf. V, 29 (Renauld, I, 104) for the participation of children and young girls. Scylitzes' account, 418-421 (*CSHB*, 536-540) does not mention that a major role in the riot was played by women, but see ZONARAS, XVII, xix (*CSHB*, III, 610).

(79) *Chronographia*, V, 26 (Renauld, I, 102). For Zoe's affair with Michael IV, her liking for Constantine Katepanos, secretary to Romanos III and the rumour of their secret assignations, and for her delight in the company of Constantine Monomachos, also during the reign of her first husband, which similarly gave rise to slander, see PSELLOS, *ibid.*, III, 19 ff., VI, 13 and 16 (Renauld, I, 45 ff., 123 and 125). See also SCYLITZES, 390 f. (*CSHB*, 504 f.) and ZONARAS, XVII, xiii-xx (*CSHB*, III, 581-616). Both Theodora and Eudokia also as Empresses associate freely with courtiers (*ibid.*, VI, 13, VII, 1-4 (Renauld, II, 78 and 152 ff.)).

(80) CHONIATES, *op. cit.*, 349 (*CSHB*, 453 f.). Note too that matrons seem to have taken part in public mourning for the Emperor (GREGORAS, III, 3 ; *CSHB*, I, 65 f.). According to ROBERT OF CLARI, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York, 1966), 102 and 117 all the plunder left for the common soldiers by the Fourth Crusade's leaders was the "plain silver, like the silver pitchers which the ladies of the city used to carry to the baths". See C. MANGO, "Daily Life in Byzantium", in *JÖB*, 31/1 (1981), 340 f. for bathing facilities in the 12th century, when "a weekly visit to the baths was considered amply sufficient". In the 12th Century learned romance of Prodromos (ed. R. HERCHER, *Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, II (Leipzig, 1859), II, 175-80), the secluded heroine Rhodanthe only leaves her house to go to the baths.

(81) *Alexiad*, II, 1-3 (Maria had adopted Alexios Komnenos as her son, *ibid.*, II, 1). But see III, 2, 5 for Anna's criticism of the Empress Eudokia for writing to Botaniates suggesting he marry her (or her daughter Zoe) (Leib, I, 63-71 and 108).

the palace ([82]) ; and the princesses associate with the doctors treating their father ([83]). Not only does Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexios I, wield great power, both over her son and family, and in matters of state ([84]), but the young princesses seem to have had great freedom of action ; Anna Komnena insists that theirs was not a pampered or sheltered life, and that they generally accompanied their parents and were either present at critical events or were later given full accounts ([85]). While Anna perhaps implies this to be unusual, such a lack of seclusion can hardly have been undignified or improper or Anna would not have dwelt on it. They were even able to steal out to see the punishment of the traitor Michael Anemas, a vulgar and cruel incident, and it was their intercession that procurred his pardon ([86]). Anna's comments on their upbringing perhaps imply that such is not the norm ([87]), and certainly Irene's accompanying of her husband on campaign led to criticism ([88]). It is clear though that married women were able to travel through the city visiting places of worship ([89]), and the 'gynaikonitis' of the palace at this time seems to be centrally situated and divided off only by a curtain ([90]), and there is no concept of the segregation of women ([91]), though it should be noted that Anna

(82) V, 9, 1 (Leib, II, 37).

(83) XV, 11, 3 (Leib, III, 231).

(84) II, 5 ; III, 6 (Leib, I, 75-9 and 119-127). See ZONARAS, XVIII, xxi and xxiv (*CSHB*, III, 731 f., è46) and THEOPHYLACT, *Oratio in Alexium Comnenum*, *Migne PG*, 126, 301-4. On his mother's insistence Alexios as a young man on campaign always had a monk as tent-companion (*Alexiad*, I, 8, 2 ; Leib, I, 32).

(85) XIV, 7, 4 f. (Leib, III, 174 f.).

(86) XII, 6, 6 f. (Leib, III, 73 f).

(87) XIV, 7, 4, "*οὐ γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἡμέτερον τοιοῦτον οἷον οἰκουρικὸν καὶ ὑπὸ σκιὰν καὶ τρυφὴν στρεφόμενον*" (Leib, III« 174).

(88) XIII, 1 (Leib, III, 89 f.). According to Anna the "famosa" and lampoons are the work of criminals who want to assassinate Alexios.

(89) II, 5 (Leib, I, 75) ; tr. SEWTER, *Alexiad*, 83 "Anna Dalassena ... ordered all her household to gather in the evening for a visit to the holy churches for worship ; it was her custom to attend the sanctuaries regularly ... All were present, in the usual way ...". The women apparently ride.

(90) XV, 8, 5 (Leib, III, 221).

(91) To avoid describing herself Anna refers readers to the attendants of the gynaikonitis (XIV, 7, 4). Interestingly the officers of the women's quarters have great power and influence, and are the main cause of Maria of Alania adopting Alexios Komnenos (II, 1, 5) (Leib, III, 174 and I, 65). Where historical sources refer to the women's quarters, they tend to imply no more than the private apartments of the

in particular demands great outward propriety of behaviour from imperial women and this rigid propriety appears to be a substitute for, rather than a characteristic of, strict seclusion. Anna's belief in correctness of demeanour and the maintenance of proper standards should be born in mind when considering the ambition, virulence and obscenity which other historians attribute to this princess ([92]). The convention of the propriety of female confinement certainly continued until the fall of Constantinople with little change and was possibly more accurately put into practice in the fifteenth than in preceding centuries. Francesco Filelfo, a Venetian envoy in 1420, reported that Byzantine women spoke purer Greek than their husbands, because they had no contact at all with strangers, or even with other men apart from their husbands ; they never went out, except at night, on horseback and veiled, escorted by servants, and then only to go to church or visit close relatives. Francesco himself married a Greek, the daughter of John Chrysoloras, so his testimony is reliable for his own time, even if such standards of ideal behaviour had not always been adhered to so strictly ([93]).

The women's quarters and attendance by the many eunuchs of the palace had a certain advantage, at least for Anna Komnena as regards

ladies of the Imperial family ; it is natural for example that Manuel Komnenos should hear from the gynaikonitis that his wife, Mary of Antioch has sufferd a miscarriage (KINNAMOS, VI, 2, *CSHB*, 256 f.). The gynaikonitis can also stand for the ladies of the Imperial family as a whole : Isaac Angelos takes his 'gynaikonitis' on campaign (CHONIATES, 434 ; *CSHB*, 569) for which see also Zonaras XVIII, xxvi (*CSHB*, III, 752 f.) (on Alexios Komnenos).

(92) CHONIATES, *op. cit.*, 10 (*CSHB*, 15) ; and cf. ZONARAS, XVIII, xxviii-ix (*CSHB*, III, 759-65). Contrast also these historians' detailed portrait of Irene Doukaina as scheming, aggressive and politically dangerous with Anna's account : ZONARAS, XVIII, xxiv, xxviii-xxix (*CSHB*, III, 747-9, 759-65) ; CHONIATES, 4-11 (*CSHB*, 8-17).

(93) Louis BRÉHIER, "La femme dans la famille à Byzance", in *Annuaire de l'institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, IX (Bruxelles, 1949), 108 ; LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 260. Compare the Patriarch Athanasios' (1289-93 and 1303-9) complaint about noble ladies who sit in the galleries of St. Sophia "for the sake of puffing themselves up and showing themselves off (not to mention for the sake of a sensual apperance) ... with a haughty and insolent attitude. Also they bedeck themselves with gold and precious jewels,and make a display of their clothes ..." tr. Alice-Mary MAFFRY TALBOT, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople* (Washington, 1975), 45 (p. 95). Cf. his complaints about the emperor's retinue picnicking in the galleries, *ibid.*, 47 (pp. 100-102).

her education. While both Anna and her husband Bryennios were apparently proverbial for their scholastic abilities ([94]), it appears that Anna's secular education was only openly encouraged once she was married to Bryennios. An oration of Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesus, states that Anna's parents were not against her learning philosophy, but opposed her study of literature, so that she had to study in secret under one of the palace eunuchs ([95]). Alexios' court, influenced as it was by the high moral tone of Anna Dalassena, was probably more philistine in such matters than the rest of contemporary society ([96]), but it is significant that Anna's parents did not think classical literature a suitable subject for a young girl to study because of its content :

> "*τὴν γε μὴν προτρέχουσαν τούτων γραμματικήν, ἧς τὸ κράτιστον μέρος ἡ ποίησις, ἧς τὸ πολύθεον εἴτ' οὖν ἄθεον καὶ μῦθοι τὸ γνώρισμα, οἳ θεοὺς πλάττουσι ἐρῶντας δυσέρωτας ἔρωτας, καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς καὶ ἀρρένων ἁρπαγὰς καὶ ἄλλην ἀριστουργίαν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πολὺ τὸ ἄσημον ἔχουσαν, ταύτην μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσι μὲν ἐπικίνδυνον, γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ παρθένοις καὶ λίαν ἐπίβουλον καλῶς νενομίκασιν, ὧν τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς παρθενεύειν χρῆναι κεκρίκασι· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ εἰς ψυχὴν οἱ ἔρωτες καταρρέουσι*" ([97]).

This literature, therefore, was presumed to exert a most pernicious influence on the morality of its readers, particularly those of the female sex, which is at least partial evidence for the Byzantine attitude

(94) ZONARAS, XVIII, xxvi (*CSHB*, III, 754).

(95) BROWNING, *op. cit.*, 1-12 ; see DARROUZÈS, *op. cit.*, 220-323, esp. 243-5. For Anna's account of her education see *Alexiad* pr. 1 ; XV, 7, 9 (Leib, I, 3 f. and III, 218).

(96) THEOPHYLACT, *Oratio in Alexium Comnenum*, *MPG*, 126, 301-4 ; *Alexiad*, III, 8 (Leib, I, 125 f.).

(97) BROWNING, *op. cit.*, 11. Anna's learning was unusual but not entirely unique. In the 9the century Kassiane studied classical authors as well as Scripture and was praised by Theodore the Studite for her learning and literary skill. See Eva CATAFYGIOTU TOPPING, "Kassiane the Nun and the Sinful Woman", in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 26 (1981), 202, and *ibid.*, 204 for other women hymnographers including Palaiologina, a 15th century Imperial princess. Skleraina, however does not recognise the famous "*οὐ νέμεσις*" quotation and Psellos has to inform her about classical myths (*Chronographia*, VI, 60-1) (Renauld, I, 146)). On Kassiane, see also A. R. DYCK, "On Cassia *Κύριε ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς*", in *Byzantion*, LVI (1986), 63-76 and E. S. TOPPING, "The Psalmist, St. Luke and Kassia the Nun", in *Byzantine Studies*, 9 (1982).

towards education for women, and while in the 14th century literate women such as Irene Choumnaina are encountered ([98]), any in-depth study of secular literature was not part of the educational curriculum for women, and on the whole only scriptural works were considered appropriate for them to peruse ([99]) ; though within monastic institutions also secular books are infrequently encountered ([100]).

Since the ideology ruled that women should be retiring and even limited their access to literature and general education, it is logical to assume that it would find no place for women at the summit of power.

(98) For the cultured protovestiarissa Theodora (d. 1300), literary patroness of Maximos Planoudes, and Helena, wife of John V Palaiologos, patroness of Demetrios Kydones, see D. M. NICOL, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenos) ca. 1100-1460* (Washington, 1968), 16-18, and 135 f. and for the importance of the woman of the Imperial family as literary patrons, see Elizabeth M. JEFFREYS, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness ; the Monk Iakovos", in *JÖB*, 32/3 (1982), 63-71, "The Comnenian Background to the Romans d'Antiquité", in *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 470-86 and "Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy", 204-210. For a discussion of female literacy from the 12th to 14th centuries see LAIOU, "The role of Women", 254-7.

(99) See especially TALBOT, "Bluestocking Nuns", 604-618 and HERO, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina", 134-8 and 147. For the possible production of books in convents see CARR, *op. cit.*, 1-15 ; *ibid.*, 13, "the typika even of intellectually accomplished women ... contain no formal provision for intellectual pursuits".

(100) The thirteenth century Patriarch, Athanasios I, returned a book, which he described as an object of abiding delight, because it was of no use to him or his disciples, presumably being too wordly (*The Correspondence of Athanasios*, ed. TALBOT, 20 (pp. 49-51)) Monastic libraries in the thirteenth century generally comprised some fifty books, almost all of a religious nature (TALBOT, *op. cit.*, xxviii-xxix). For the library of Eustathios Boilas in the eleventh century, primarily of a religious nature but including a "*Λευκίππη*" (the work of Achilles Tatios) see P. LEMERLE, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 25 and Sp. VRYONIS (Jun.), "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 263-77. See C. MANGO, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium", in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 53, for books cited by Kekaumenos (admittedly a soldier and philistine) who quotes mostly from the Bible and who only once cites a secular author (Dio Cassios). For the scarcity and expense of books in Byzantium see C. MANGO, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Oxford, 1975), 5 and "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850", in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen : A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 38 f. and 43-5, and for the reading public in the ninth and tenth century see Robert BROWNING, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (London, 1975), 170-3.

Women themselves agree with the doctrine of feminine weakness ([101]), and the stereotype in general does not expect them to play any prominent role in politics, and while it would be a misapprehension to assume that Byzantines were misogynists and disapproved in toto of women wielding political or social power, it is true to say that this was not expected to be the norm. The eleventh and twelfth centuries are unusual in having given scope to Zoe ([102]), Theodora ([103]) and Eudokia ([104]) to reign as Empresses in their own right and to the redoutable Anna Dalassena ([105]) who wielded great influence during

(101) See for example the statement of the dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina "women of a gentle and weak nature ... need strong protection, inasmuch as they are accustomed to staying at home and the silence which is most appropriate for women" (TALBOT, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience", 11, cf. 15, n. 77). For the similar opinion of Theodora Synadene that the weakness of female nature necessitates male supervision of the convent, and these "pious commonplaces", hardly born out by the lives of women foundresses such as these ladies and Irene Choumnaina, see LAIOU, "Observations", 78 f.

(102) Zoe, second daughter of Constantine VIII was married by her father to Romanos (III) Argyros (1028-34); she chose for herself two other husbands, Michael IV (1034-41) and Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55) and an adopted son, Michael V (1041-2). In addition she reigned briefly for a few months in her own right with her younger sister Theodora (1042). See PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II-VI.

(103) Theodora reigned jointly with Zoe (1042) and assumed power after the death of Constantine Monomachos (1055-6). See PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI.

(104) Eudokia was the wife of Constantine X Dukas (1059-67), reigned as regent for her children (1067), married Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-71), and after his deposition reigned jointly with her son, Michael VII Dukas, for a few months (1071). See PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII and N. OIKONOMIDES, "Le serment de l'impératrice Eudokia (1067). Un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de Byzance", in *REB*, 21 (1963), 101-128.

(105) For Anna Dalassena, mother of Alexios I Komnenos, to whom he delegated great responsibility, see BRYENNIOS, *Historia*, I, ed. P. Gautier, p. 88, 18 ; 143, 7 (*CSHB*, 41-64), *Alexiad*, II, 4-5 ; III, 5 ; III, 6-7 (Leib, I, 73-9 and 116-25) ; ZONARAS, XVIII, xxi and xxiv (*CSHB*, III, 731 f. and 746) and THEOPHYLACT, *Oratio in Alexium*, *Migne PG*, 126, 301-4. It is significant that Anna in the Alexiad (III, 6) disingenuously represents her grandmother as longing to spend her remaining years in a monastic institution in contemplation and prayer ; only her love for her son and his need for her assistance in ruling dissuaded her. According to Zonaras Alexios, tired of her, finally forced her into a convent (XVIII, xxiv ; *CSHB*, 301). Anna Dalassena's involvement in politics was long and striking ; see BRYENNIOS, I, 6 (ed. Gautier, pp. 84-99 = *CSHB*, 24) and *Alexiad* II, 5 (Leib, I, 75) for her arrangement of politically suitable marriages for her family ; BRYENNIOS, I, 22

the reign of her son Alexios I Komnenos, as well as to the schemes of other imperial women including Euprepia ([106]), Irene Doukaina and her daughter ([107]), the discreet Maria of Alania ([108]), and the indiscreet Euphrosyne ([109]). The relative freedom which women of the Imperial family and the aristocracy enjoyed both in interfering in political matters and in conducting love affairs was presumably not reflected lower in the social scale. But even Psellos, who describes the reign of the two aged Empresses with the personal knowledge of an insider, and in a surprisingly sympathetic manner, reports that such a state of affairs was not well regarded by the populace at large : "Everyone was agreed that for the Roman Empire to be governed by a woman, instead of a man, was improper, and, even if the people did not think so, it certainly seemed that they did" ([110]).

Presumably the fact that beauty is the characteristic most lauded of Empresses and other female members of the imperial family ([111])

(ed. Gautier = *CSHB*, 48-50) for her banishment ; BRYENNIOS, II, 1 (ed. Gautier = *CSHB*, 56) for her recall ; *Alexiad*, II, 1 and 4 for her involvement in politics *Alexiad*, III, 5 for her advice to Alexios when Emperor ; *Alexiad*, III, 6-7 for her wielding of power in the Emperor's absence and her intellect. See BRYENNIOS, I, 3-5 (ed. Gautier = *CSHB*, 19-22) for the scene she creates when her husband supposedly refused the throne.

(106) Elder sister of Constantine IX Monomachos. See PSELLOS, *Chron.*, VI, 100 (Renauld, II, 15). Compare also Pulcheria the sister of Romanos III Argyros, *ibid.*, III, 6 and 21-3 (Renauld, I, 35 and 47-9).

(107) CHONIATES, 4-11 (*CSHB*, 8-17) ; ZONARAS, XVIII, xxiv-ix (*CSHB*, III, 747-765).

(108) Wife of Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Michael VII Dukas and rumoured to be going to marry Alexios Komnenos on his accession. See *Alexiad*, II, 1-3, III, 1-2, IX, 8 (Leib, I, 63-71, 103-10 and II, 179) and ZONARAS, XVIII, xxi (*CSHB*, III, 731-3) ; MULLETT, *op. cit.*, 202-11, and B. LEIB, "Nicéphore III Botaneiates (1078-1081) et Marie d'Alanie", in *VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Paris, 1950), 129-140.

(109) Wife of Alexios III Angelos. See CHONIATES, 460, 484-9, 519 f. (*CSHB*, 606 f., 639-47, 687 f.). See also for Mary of Antioch, wife of Manuel I Komnenos, CHONIATES, *op. cit.*, 223 f. (*CSHB*, 292 f.) and for her militant step-daughter, Maria Kaisarissa, *ibid.*, 230-240 (*CSHB*, 300-12).

(110) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI, 4 (Renauld, II, 73) ; tr. SEWTER, *op. cit.*, 262 (on Theodora), and cf. *ibid.*, VI, 17 (Renauld, II, 80) for the extreme views of the patriarch Kerularios on the matter ; for similar comments in the reign of Eudokia see ZONARAS, XVIII, x (*CSHB*, III, 686 f.).

(111) See for example, PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 9 (Renauld, II, 177) ; *Alexiad*, III, 2 (Leib, I, 107 f.) ; cf. BRYENNIOS, III, 25 (ed. P. Gautier = *CSHB*,

implies that conventionally dignity and regality of appearance is the most important of their imperial duties, and that seldom would contact with the Empress be other than formal and at a distance. The Empress ought, by convention, to be silent ([112]). The ceremonial role of the Empress implies her subordinate status : according to Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century, the Empresses role is purely practical :

> "The service of the emperors (autocratores) includes the enlightening and strengthening both of soul and body : the dignity of the patriarchs is limited to the benefit of souls, and to that only ... likewise the care and the thought given to subjects by the empress is simply directed to

126 f.) (for Mary of Alania) ; see KINNAMOS, V, 4 (*CSHB*, 210) ; CHONIATES, 115 f. ; 269 and 332 f. (*CSHB*, 151, 348 f., 433) ; EUSTATHIOS, *De Thessalonica Capta*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr (Bonn, 1842), 380 f. ; "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses", ed. K. Horna, *BZ*, 13 (1904), 330 ; and see also CHONIATES, 223 (*CSHB*, 291 f.) (for Mary of Antioch, second wife of Manuel Koumnenos) ; and for extended descriptions see PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 5 (Renauld, I, 28), VI, 6 (Renauld, I, 120), VI, 158 (Renauld, II, 49) (Zoe and Theodora) ; *Alexiad*, III, 3 (Irene Doukaina) (Leib, I, 111 f.). While Psellos' description of Helena, wife of Constantine VIII (II, 5, ed. Renauld, I, 28) is not based on first hand knowledge, his praise of Aikaterina, wife of Isaac Komnenos and their daughter, and Eudokia Makrembolitissa and her daughter Zoe, is at firsthand (VII, 79 ; VII, 7 ; VII, 20 ; ed. Renauld, II, 131, 141, 148, and cf. *ibid.*, 141 for the first wife of Constantine X Dukas). For Irene Doukaina see also the account of her son-in-law, BRYENNIOS (III, 6 (éd. Gautier = *CSHB*, 107)) who also praises her mother (*loc. cit.*), as does Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, II, 6 (Leib, I, 80 f.). Striking exceptions are Eudokia, eldest daughter of Constantine VIII, disfigured by smallpox (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 5 (Renauld, I, 27) "*κάλλους τε μέσως ἔχουσα*" ; ZONARAS, XVII, x (*CSHB*, III, 570) describes her as "*λοιμικῷ τὸ κάλλος λωβηθεῖσα νοσήματι*") ; and Bertha-Irene, German-born wife of Manuel Komnenos (CHONIATES, 53 (*CSHB*, 72 f.) "*αὕτη μέντοι οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῦ σωματικοῦ κάλλους ἐφρόντιζεν, ὅσον τοῦ ἔνδον καὶ περὶ ψυχὴν ἐπεμέλετο*"). KINNAMOS, V, 1 (*CSHB*, 202) emphasizes her prudence, propriety and charity.

(112) PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VII, 9 (Renauld, II, 177) ; *Alexiad*, XII, 3, 2-3 ; III, 3-4 ; see CHONIATES, 146 f. (*CSHB*, 191) where the Empress Mary of Antioch overhears some sharp dealing in "Latin" at a audience which the Emperor does not understand, and reveals the details later to Manuel. Cf. CHONIATES, 388 f. (*CSHB*, 507). For the dignified regality of the Empress see *Alexiad*, III, 7 (Anna Dalassena), III, 3 and XII, 3 (Irene) (Leib, I, 123 f., and 111 f., and III, 62) ; and PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 5 ; III, 19 (Renauld, I, 28 and 45) (Zoe). *Ibid.*, VI, 64 (Renauld, I, 148) Psellos assumes that Empresses wish to appear resplendent.

the welfare of the body and only to that (for women are devoid of the power of giving spiritual succour)" ([113]).

Even Empresses, Balsamon believes, are bound by the restrictions and conventions of their sex and it is wrong for them to interfere in matters not their concern ([114]). But interestingly, as Empresses, their role in court ceremonial was important, in particular their ceremonial receptions of the wives of nobles and officials ([115]), and it is clear that they appeared in public ([116]), took over public duties such as addressing the senate where necessary ([117]), and freely associated with courtiers ([118]). While, therefore, few Byzantine historians try to present

(113) BALSAMON, *Meditata sive Responsa*, *Migne PG*, 138, 1017 ; trans. by Ernest Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), 106.

(114) "*Γυναῖκας γὰρ σιγᾶν καὶ μὴ διδάσκειν νενομοθέτηται*", BALSAMON, *Migne PG*, 138, 1017 (Cf. CHONIATES, 460 ; *CSHB*, 606 f. on Euphrosyne, wife of Alexios III Angelos). But for the part played later by women in religious controversies see D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258-1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 274 for Eulogia and Maria, sister and niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos ; see *The Correspondence of Athanasius*, ed. TALBOT, 34 (pp. 70-2) for Rita-Maria, wife of Michael IX, and cf. *ibid.*, 69 (p. 170) ; and see for Irene Choumaina, V. LAURENT, "Une princesse byzantine au cloître", *EO*, 29 (1930), 29-61 and "La direction spirituelle à Byzance. La correspondance d'Irène-Eulogie Choumnaina Paléologine avec son second directeur", in *REB*, 14 (1956), 49-86 ; HERO, *op. cit.*, 139-145 and TALBOT, "Bluestocking Nuns", 614-7.

(115) The tenth-century Patriarch Nicholas justified the third marriage of Leo VI (to Eudokia) "*δεῖ δὲ γυναῖκα τῷ παλατίῳ προσεῖναι τὴν διοικοῦσαν τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα τῶν σῶν ἀρχόντων ταῖς γυναιξίν*", in *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters*, ed. R. J. H. JENKINS and L. G. WESTERINK (Washington, 1973), 220 and see PACHYMERES, II, 19 (II, p. 154 f.). For the Empress' religious duties see TALBOT, *The Correspondence of Athanasius*, 56 (p. 125) where Athanasios invites Andronikos II and Yolanda-Irene to St. Sophia to commemorate the Dormition of the Virgin.

(116) See for example, PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, VI, 61 (Renauld, I, 146), for Zoe, Theodora and Skleraina, and cf. SCYLITZES, 434 (*CSHB*, 556) ; for appearance at "*τὰ σκηνικὰ ταῦτα καὶ γελοιώδη παίγνια*" which were part of the marriage celebrations of Alexios III's daughters, see CHONIATES, 509 (*CSHB*, 675). For Anna Komnena and her family, see above pp. 386-87 f.

(117) Like Theodora, mother of Michael III, and Zoe Karbonopsina, Zoe addresses the senate (SCYLITZES, 96, 207, 420 ; *CSHB*, 158, 290 f., 539) ; see PSELLOS, *Chronographia* for Zoe and Theodora (VI, I ; Renauld, I, 117), Theodora (VI (Theodora), 1-2 ; Renauld, II, 72) and Eudokia (VII (Eudokia), 1-3 ; Renauld, II, 152 f.). For Bertha-Irene see KINNAMOS, III, 5 (*CSHB*, 99 f.).

(118) See, for example, SCYLITZES, 390 (*CSHB*, 504 f.) for Zoe ; PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, II, 18-20, VI (Zoe and Theodora), 13, 16 (Renauld, I, 45-7, 123 f.,

an historically accurate picture of anything concerning women ([119]), making it difficult to decide to what extent real life and social practice actually conformed to the conventions of behaviour described in our sources, and while the reiteration of the conventional ideology blurs the degree to which woman's lifestyle changed with time in Byzantium, certain aspects of her life are clear. Historical sources clarify the picture of the aristocratic lady, as reflected in her own documents, and highlight her power, independence and capability ([120]). In real terms, in the late Byzantine period, particularly in the upper classes, women played an increasingly active economic and political role, and the aristocracy as a whole respected the women of their class, who transmitted lineage and money ([121]). It does not seem true that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seclusion and an isolated existence were a feature of the lifestyle of Byzantine women ; indeed aristocratic

125 f.) for Zoe ; *ibid.*, VI (Theodora), 14 (Renauld, II, 78) for Theodora ; *ibid.*, VI (Constantine IX), 61 (Renauld, I, 146 f.) for Skleraina ; *ibid.*, VI (Constantine IX), 145, 153 (Renauld, II, 41 f., 46) for the hostage Alan princess, mistress of Constantine ; Choniates, 204 (*CSHB*, 266) for Theodora, mistress of Manuel I ; Choniates, 223 f. (*CSHB*, 292) for Mary of Antioch ; GREGORAS, IX, 10 (I, 440) for Anne of Savoy.

(119) ANGELOMATIS-TSOUGARAKIS, *op. cit.*, 477 ; "Byzantine literature in general and the kind of sources that have ordinarily provided us with information in particular have, with few exceptions, given us mainly an account of the prevailing official ideology, the model with which the ideal daughter, wife and mother should conform".

(120) LAIOU, "Observations", 87.

> "The twelfth-century upper class lady (Irene Dukaina) has left us a clear imprint in this document ; she is powerful, intelligent, learned to a greater or lesser degree, a manager, an economic conservative. She has great pride of birth, and a great concern for her family ; she is fully conscious of her privileged position, and does not quite relinquish it when she enters religion. She is austere, strict, not overly ascetic, and has a complex relationship with men".

(121) LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 258. For the wealth, for example, of Irene Choumnaina, see HERO, *op. cit.*, 144 f. and LAIOU, "Observations", 97-9. Her fortune is commented on by PACHYMERES, IV, 7 (*CSHB*, II, 287) and GREGORAS, XXIX, 22 (*CSHB*, III, 238) as well as Athanasius (TALBOT, *op. cit.*, 426 f.). For the control of family property by Theodora, mother of John VI Kantakuzenos, see KANTAKUZENOS, *Historiae*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, *CSHB*, 1828-32), I, 28 and III, 22 (I, p. 138 and II, p. 137 f.). This control of property by women was not of course restricted to the fourteenth century ; for the large landed interests of the widow Danielis in the ninth century see THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, *CSHB*, 1838), 266 ff. and 316 ff.

women were anything but secluded, and the gynaeceum is certainly more of a convention in the sources than a feature of real life ([122]). Certainly at the Imperial level women frequently had total social and political independence, whatever conventions of behaviour the sources chose to attribute to them. Empresses, married, unmarried or widowed, associated unhindered with courtiers and were free to make their own choice of lovers or husbands ; and while Anna Komnena attributes to her mother the ideal virtues of modesty and domesticity, it is still clear from Anna's account and from other sources that Irene and her daughters were anything but secluded or retiring, while other ladies of the imperial family, such as Euprepia, Anna Dalassena, Maria of Alania, Mary of Antioch, Maria Kaisarissa, and Euphrosyne – all wives, widows, mothers, daughters or sisters of Emperors – were either actively involved in wielding power, or would willingly have done so given the opportunity. While, from the thirteenth century, the exceptional woman who wielded considerable power in Byzantium through marrying Emperors and by becoming the mothers of imperial princes were often, like the hated Mary of Antioch, foreigners (Yolanda of Montferrat and Anne de Savoy being the obvious examples ([123])), the eleventh and twelfth centuries clearly show Byzantine-born women similarly prepared to scheme and assume power to aid their children and plot for their family's or their own aggrandissement. Strong-mindedness and a willingness to assume power were certainly not characteristics only of foreign-born ladies of the imperial family. In addition to political power, imperial ladies also enjoyed great social freedom, and, like the Empress Zoe, the nieces of Manuel Komnenos among others were able to become mistresses of men of the royal family and openly to flout conventional standards of behaviour and morality.

Nevertheless, the existence of the conventions of behaviour and ideology, which defined and constrained the ideas of feminine propriety, demonstrates what, in Byzantine eyes, was the correct model for female deportment and shows a total disregard for the underlying reality, provided that appearances were seen to be maintained. Indeed, the constant lip-service paid to the conventional ideal only serves to highlight the realities of women's life in Byzantium. Here it is inte-

(122) LAIOU, "The Role of Women", 249.

(123) For the powers of Empresses as regents see HERRIN, "In Search of Byzantine Women", 183-5.

resting to note that the proprieties, as is only to be expected, are most rigidly presented by women themselves, Anna Komnena, in particular, laying down strict guidelines for the behaviour of imperial women. But the prescription involves nothing as severe as seclusion – in fact, except in so far as household tasks would restrict women to certain quarters, our sources contradict rather than otherwise both the necessity for female seclusion and the reality of its existence as a social law. What are of importance, it appears, are the outward and visible signs of modesty and a "certain graceful bashfulness, which is the pecular ornament and characteristic of the fair sex" ([124]). Essential to woman's outward appearance are the veil, the downcast eye, reluctance to speak before men, a devotion to household matters, if married, and to weaving and spinning in any case if not, and added to this, for Empresses at least, a certain resplendence of apparel and an untouchable dignity of demeanour. It is these characteristics which compose the conventional ideal of womankind, the ideal enshrined in Psellos' and Anna's accounts of their families. What is obvious here is that this stereotype is purely one of demeanour and appearances – it in no way affects women's occupations, wielding of political power, social influence or even her physical mobility within the city, and only enhances and strengthens her primary role and influence within the family. Indeed, both Psellos and Anna implicitly class the wielding of power, even of intrigue, for the family's sake as an important feature of the ideal mother. While behaviour should be restrained, power should not, and while it seems true that higher education was not usually available to Byzantine girls, intellect and managerial capacity in women were very highly rated though, naturally, ostentatious wielding of power for its own sake was deplored. Zoe and Theodora, for example, were critized by Psellos not because they were women but because they were incompetent; Irene Dukaina was attacked by historians not for her femininity but because they saw her as interfering and overbearing. But Empresses such as Eudokia Makrembolitissa and aristocrats such as Anna Dalassena, as well as the middle-class Theodote with whom she had so much in common, in their control

(124) Henry FIELDING, *Amelia*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Oxford, 1983), 319. It is of interest here that while eighteenth century novels, like their Victorian successors, consider modesty as "the brightest Jewel which adorns their Fair Sex", one need only note Fielding's own heroines and sub-heroines in *Tom Jones*, *Amelia*, *Joseph Andrews* and, in particular, *Jonathan Wild* to see what a rare commodity it in fact is, despite its role as the most important feature of the ideal female stereotype.

of their primary interests, whether of state or family, are eulogised and idealised : their status and actions in no way conflict with the symbols of their femininity such as their veil and the dignity belonging to their class and standing, as seen in their propriety of demeanour. Indeed, Psellos' descriptions both of Theodote and Maria of Alania, like Anna's of her mother, implicitly make clear that, to a degree at least, such behaviour was in fact atypical and unusual.

The social freedom enjoyed by imperial women during these two centuries stresses most of all the gap between convention and reality : the amours of Zoe, the sexual intrigues of the courts of Constantine IX Monomachos and Manuel I Komnenos, are not features of a society where female seclusion rates highly as a social priority, however little these affairs may be reflected or imitated lower in the social scale. Indeed, the grumblings of Kekaumenos, ostensibly evidence for female confinement, actually indicate the reverse – many a misogynist would prescribe such restrictions on viewing the social and sexual freedom available to upper-class women at the Byzantine court at certain times during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as evidenced by the total lack of sexual inhibitions shown by many of them during this period.

The conventions of behaviour thus tend to highlight, rather than obscure, social reality : certainly, instead of restricting women's social liberty, they seem in fact to contribute to her freedom, by encasing her in a protective stereotype which defines her behaviour while leaving her free to wield social and political power at will. Such ambivalence between reality and imagination, such "double-think", is confusing to the modern mind. To the Byzantines, it was a normal feature of life and thought – to them the convention of the "modest" women was as much a reality as the facts of her life, a reality which permeated Byzantine society, obviously and deeply, without in any way relating to her activities and interests and which most satisfactorily allowed imperial women not merely to remain the power behind the throne, without affecting their femininity, but to be in their own right the obvious and unchallenged embodiment of Byzantine imperialism. The hand that rocks the cradle may rule the world, but for Byzantine women in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that was only one of their power options.

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NOTE ON AN UNKNOWN "ITALO-CRETAN" ICON IN CAIRO

The Coptic convent of the Virgin (Deir al-'Adra) at Haret Zuwaila in S. E. Cairo possesses an unnoticed icon with scenes of the Virgin and Child (Figs. 1-7) ([1]). Even in its present mutilated state, this icon deserves description and analysis. It is attributable to an early 15th century Cretan provenance : its awareness of both Palaeologan painting from major centres and Italian painting of around the mid 14th century offer it as an early example of the extensive production of "Italo Cretan" icons of the 15th-16th centuries ([2]).

The icon depicts, in the upper register, the Annunciation and Virgin and Child between half-figures of archangels, with the Nativity with the Adoration of the Magi and Annunciation to a single shepherd in the lower register (Fig. 1 with drawing, Fig. 2). Made of alder wood, the icon is convex in shape with the obverse measuring 43.6 × 55.7 ×

(1) The icon is kept in the upper chapel of St. Mary in the convent church. I am grateful to Mother Mariam Riad for permission to study and photograph the icon. It is not known when it was acquired by the convent, first documented in the 15th century by al-Maqrizi : I. HABIB EL-MASRI, "A Historical Survey of the Convents for Women in Egypt up to the present day", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*, XIV, 1958, 63-64. The church itself predates the convent and was probably rebuilt shortly after its destruction of 1321 : M. H. SIMAIKA PACHA, *Guide Sommaire du Musée Copte*, Cairo, 1937, 87. Simaika records (88) another icon of the Annunciation, dated 1071 AM (AD 1355) on a pillar of the North aisle.

(2) For this terminology see M. CHATZIDAKIS, "Essai sur l'école dite "Italo-grecque" précédé d'une note sur les rapports de l'art Vénitien avec l'art Crétois jusqu'à 1500", ed. A. PERTUSI, *Venezia e il Levante fino al Secolo XV*, II, Florence, 1974, esp. 81-85, 117-119. See also M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et la Collection de l'Institut* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise, I), Venice, 1962, XXXVII-XLVI and *passim* and the exhibition catalogues, N. CHATZIDAKIS, *L'art des icônes en Crète et dans les iles après Byzance* (Europalia Grèce, 1982), Charleroi, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1982, passim and *Icons of the Cretan School (15th-16th Century)*, Benaki Museum, Athens, 1983, *passim* ; *From Byzantium to El Greco : Greek Frescoes and icons*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987, *passim*.

2.5 cm thick (3). A 1-cm framing strip survives at the top and right side, nailed in place before the whole was gessoed and painted : this framed construction is consistent with Byzantine icons (4). The icon has suffered substantial damage at some time. The whole surface is pitted with wormholes, part of the annunciating angel is lost and the panel has been intentionally scraped, especially at the bottom, with the loss of a third of the lower register. Despite this damage, the episodes in both registers are visible against the gold background, with inscriptions in black or red. The restriction of most of the scraping to the lower register suggests that the icon was installed partly beyond arms' reach, as part of the epistyle of a sanctuary screen (5).

In locating the icon within Byzantine art, it is notable that the two upper scenes reproduce known icon types, while the lower register is more characteristic of later Cretan panel painting. The two registers are artificially united by the rays of light, originally silver, at the top of each, as well as the colour balance between green and orange-red, highlighted with chrysography. Yet each scene remains self-contained and suggesive of an *ad hoc* selection. This can be elaborated, taking each register in turn.

The Annunciation dominates the upper register. The archangel Gabriel (*Ο ΑΡΧ (ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ*) (Fig. 3), approaching from the left, wears an ochre-green outer garment over a dark green tunic, with red at the armband and at the front and back of the hem. His face, like the Virgin's, is accentuated with fine highlights. The Virgin (*$\overline{MP}$ ΘΥ*) (Fig. 4) is seated before her house, spinning according to the apocryphal version. She holds the spindle in her left hand while gesturing to the angel with her right. Her outer garment is dark red, touched with gold, over a dark green tunic. Her throne and footstool are similarly highlighted. In contrast are the orange-red footstool,

(3) Dr. Paula Rudall of the Royal Botanical Gardens, London, kindly identified a wood sample of the icon as alder (*alnus* sp.). Measured from the back the icon is 41.2 × 51.2 cm.

(4) D. KREIDL, "Zur Frage der Bewertbarkeit der Bildträger innerhalb der Ikonenmalerei", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXVIII, 1979, 229-240 ; it fits best with Kreidl's type II (238-239) except that the frame is nailed on from the front, not the side.

(5) For a 14th instance : L.-A. HUNT, "Iconic and Aniconic : Unknown Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Byzantine Icons from Cairo in their Woodwork Settings", in *ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA*, 6, Varia 2, Bonn, 1987, 35-38.

cushions and curtain, suspended from three hooks from the canopy above the Virgin's head. The rays of light from above are now oxidised to black. The Virgin's house and the oblique building behind the angel, both in sage green, are linked by a wall, with a plant in a vessel on a ledge. Above the parapet is the inscription naming the scene (*O ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΜΟC*).

What is immediately striking about the Annunciation is its "quotation" of early 14th century Palaeologan panel painting. The Virgin seated under a square canopy with a curtain swept to one side compares with the Annunciation from the double-sided Virgin Psychosostria panel from Constantinople (6). The angel too, turned two-thirds the viewer, springs forward onto his left foot in the manner of the Constantinopolitan icon. However the Cairo icon also diverges in several respects, stylistically as well as in its inscription. Apart from the contained use of the bright orange-red, its colour tone is more subdued, lacking the fluency and translucence of the Constantinopolitan panel. In place of the shimmery surface texture are angular lines, almost hooks, to highlight the angel's body (Fig. 3). This more schematic approach is represented by the annunciating angel from an icon attributed to Thessalonica in the early 14th century, now in the British Museum but formerly in the possession of an Egyptian monastery, Deir as-Suriani in the Wadi an-Natrun (7). Yet the Cairo icon relates more closely to the Annunciation icon in the Tretchiakov Gallery in Moscow, dated at the end of the 14th century, both in this linearity and in the more subdued colouring (8). In these stylistic respects, as well as iconographically, the Cairo and Moscow icons

(6) One of the pair with that of Christ Psychosostris dateable to the reign of Andronicos II when the monastery of the Virgin Psychosostria was under the authority of the Archbishop of Ochrid : S. RADOJČIĆ, *Icones de Serbie et de Macédoine*, Belgrade, 1961, ix-x ; V. LAZAREV, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, 369, pl. 500 ; K. WEITZMANN et al., *TheIcon*, London, 1982, 21, 72 (pl.) ; E. VOORDECKERS, "L'interprétation liturgique de quelques icones byzantines", *Byzantion*, LIII (1), 1983, 55-58. For the monastery : R. JANIN, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, I (3) : Les Églises et les Monastères*, Paris, 1933, 252.

(7) *From Byzantium to El Greco*, 152-153, no. 12, 75 (pl.).

(8) M. ALPATOFF, "Eine Verkündigungsikone aus der Paläologenepoche in Moscau", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXV, 1925, 347-357 ; LAZAREV, *Pittura bizantina*, 375, pl. 529.

together closely compare with the Annunciation wallpaintings of the Peribleptos and Pantanassa churches at Mistra, dated to the second half of the 14th and second quarter of the 15th centuries respectively (9). Finally, the tracery window behind the Cairo angel anticipates the more elaborate ones of the Virgin's house on the right leaf of some later 15th century sanctuary doors now at the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos (10).

The Virgin and Child enthroned between archangels occupies the remaining third of the upper register (Fig. 5). The Virgin (*$\overline{MP}$ $\overline{\Theta Y}$*), holds Christ (*$\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$*), who is cross-nimbed, blesses with his right hand with fingers paired, and holds a scroll tied with red ribbons in his left. He wears an orange garment laced with chrysography. To left and right are the half-figures of Michael (*O APX(AΓΓΕΛΟC) MIXAḤA*) and Gabriel (*O APX(AΓΓΕΛΟC) ΓABṚIḤA*). The inscriptions of this scene are in red instead of black as elsewhere on the icon. The Virgin and Child seated on the thokos also follows Palaeologan icon painting, exemplified by an icon in the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna usually dated to late 13th- or early 14th-century Constantinople, in which the same delicate painting technique is employed, with fine white lines laid over greenish-brown flesh tints (11). A nearer-contemporary, early 15th-century icon of the Virgin and Child enthroned between full-length archangels and framed by prophets, in the Accademia in Florence, also displays this technique (12). The half-figure archangels seem to have been adopted from other 14th century icon types, especially of the Virgin Hodegetria (13). Angels flanking Christ in a mid-14th century icon from the monastery of Vlatadon in

(9) G. MILLET, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910, pls. 116, 139 respectively ; ALPATOFF, "Verkündigungsikone", esp. 348-351, 356-357 ; T. VELMANS, *La Peinture Murale Byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge*, I (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, XI), Paris, 1977, 203, 250-251.

(10) *From Byzantium to El Greco*, 180, no. 48, 116-117 (pls.) from the Church of Christ Dimarchias or Megalis Portas in Chora, Patmos.

(11) LAZAREV, *Pittura bizantina*, 323, 326, pl. 428 ; A. MARTINELLI, *Le Icone della Collezione Classense di Ravenna*, Bologna, 1982, 85-86, no. 16.

(12) LAZAREV, *Pittura bizantina*, 407-408, pl. 575.

(13) Including the obverse of the Virgin Psychosostria icon, conveniently illustrated in A. GRABAR, *Les Revêtements en Or et en Argent des Icônes Byzantines du Moyen Âge* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Hellénique d'Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise, VII), Venice, 1975, no. 13, pl. XX : fig. 32.

Thessalonika are similarly shown as half figures, also with their hands covered ([14]).

The lower register depicts the Nativity combined with the Adoration of the Magi, with the Annunciation to a sole shepherd in a rocky landscape (Figs. 1, 2). Rays of light, now oxidised, end in the star over the Christ-child's head. The Virgin ($\overline{MP}\ \overline{\Theta Y}$) sits with Christ ($\overline{IC}\ \overline{XC}$) on her lap (Fig. 6). An open barn behind shelters the manger and the apocryphal beasts. Christ blesses with his right hand while extending his left to receive the gift offered by the first Magus. Despite the truncation of the panel and the loss of the rest of the kneeling figure, this first king's bare head is still visible (detail, Fig. 6) ; he has removed his crown to approach the Christ-child. Behind him the second king points to the star while looking over his shoulder to the third king. Both are crowned, carry gifts and wear cloaks with jewelled collars (detail, Fig. 7). Two angels appear over the hillside, holding their hands together in praise, the left in profile, the other placed centrally, over the barn. At the right of the panel an angel, in orange-red matching the left angel, annunciates to the shepherd. The latter is shown in profile and bearded, with his hat slung down his back (detail, Fig. 7). Shrubs fill the lower corners, both right and left.

The Adoration anticipates late 15th and early 16th century Cretan panels with this grouping of the Magi before the Virgin and Child, in more developed Renaissance landscape settings ([15]). The Cairo icon Adoration is at one stage earlier, closer to 14th century panel painting itself. It can be compared with a panel attributed to a Riminese artist in the second quarter of the 14th century, even to the details of the tall open cowshed on stilts and the mantles of the Magi clasped at the front ([16]). Florentine triptychs by Bernardo Daddi or his workshop

(14) *From Byzantium to El Greco*, 160, no. 28, 86 (pl.).

(15) Examples are, respectively, a panel in the Alexandros Tsatsos Collection in Athens : M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Icons of the Cretan School*, 52, 55, no. 47 with pl. and Emmanuel LAMBARDOS' Adoration in the R. Andreadis Collection in Athens : *From Byzantium to El Greco*, 192, no. 64, 134 (pl.).

(16) R. VAN MARLE, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, IV, The Hague, 1924, 288, fig. 144. See also the comments on a tabernacle shutter in Worcester (Mass.) by the Master of the Fabriano altarpiece (of c. 1360) by R. OFFNER, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, Section III, Vol. V, New York, 1947, 211-212 with pl. XLVIII. The wooden shelter is used earlier by Giotto : J. H. STUBBLEBINE, *The Arena Chapel Frescoes*, London, 1969, figs. 25, 27.

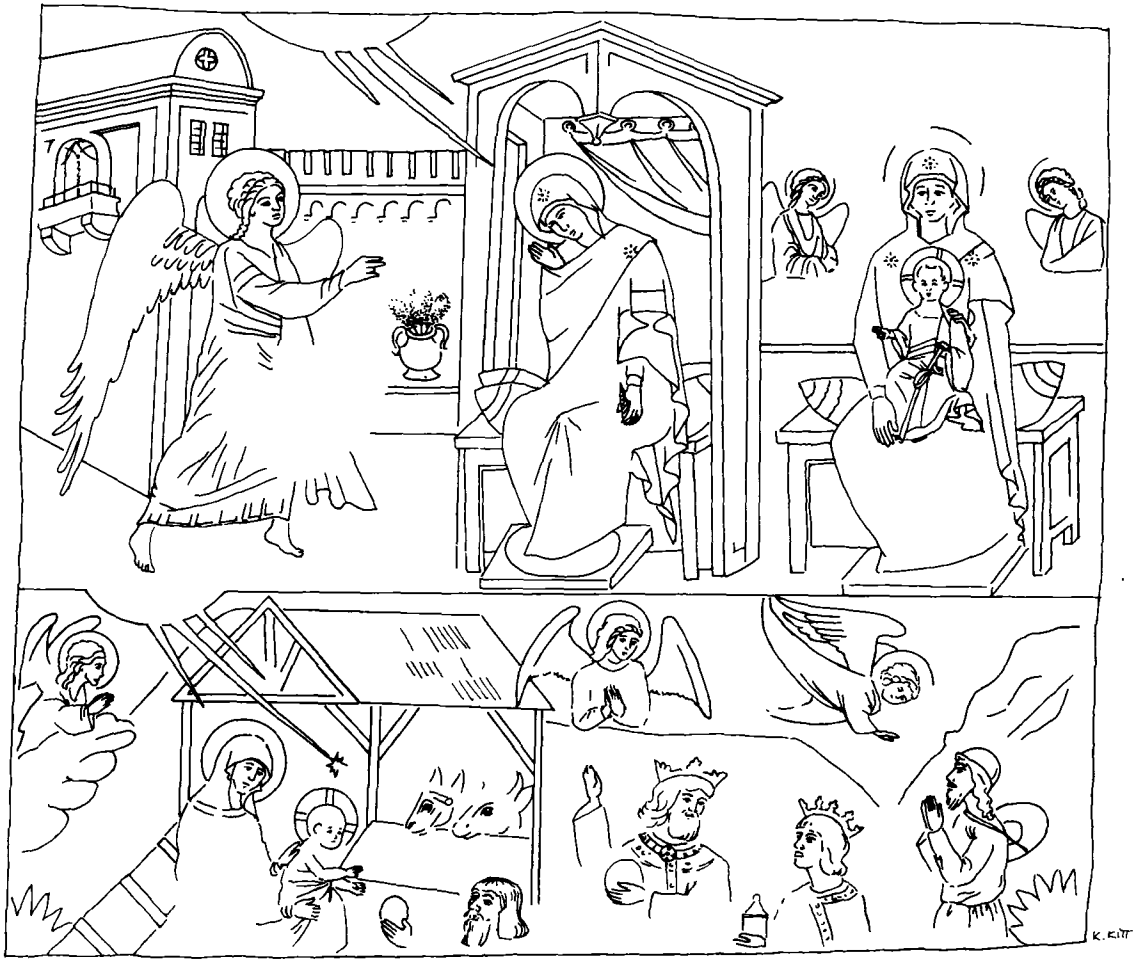

FIG. 2. — Drawing of Cairo Icon (K. Kitt).

also show the Adoration taking place under the shelter, including that in the Seilern Collection of 1338, in which the first Magus has also removed his crown to kneel before Christ ([17]).

The Italianate Adoration is absorbed into a late Byzantine Nativity scene, of which the Annunciation to the shepherd is a remnant. This stems from the variant in Palaeologan art which retains the Adoration as part of the Nativity, as opposed to its separate depiction illustrating strophe 9 of the Akathistos hymn ([18]). But it betrays the hallmarks of early 15th century Cretan panel painting, with its blend of 14th century Italian and Palaeologan features. To take one example : the left angel in profile, the 'sweetness' of the central hovering angel and the placing of shrubs within the landscape all compare with an early 15th century Nativity panel now in the M. Peraticos collection in London ([19]).

The Cairo icon can, then, be added to the corpus of "Italo-Cretan" panel paintings of the early 15th century. The separate scenes remain unintegrated, clearly betraying their background in 14th century Palaeologan and Italian panel painting. But its predominantly Byzantine character suggests it to have been commissioned for orthodox use ([20]). When it found its way to Egypt is not known – it could have been acquired by the nunnery any time after its foundation, also in the 15th century – but it is one of several Cretan icons to have been acquired by Coptic monastic communities ([21]).

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(17) J. WHITE, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250 to 1400*, Harmondsworth, 1966, 264-265, pl. 118a.

(18) J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, "Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ", ed. P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, IV, Princeton, 1975, 222-223. This is not to reflect on the icon's possible later use, as the Akathistos hymn was used in its Arabic version : see C. PETERS, "Eine arabische Übersetzung der Akathistos-Hymnus", *Le Muséon*, LIII, 1940, 89-104.

(19) *From Byzantium to El Greco*, 166-167, no. 30, 97 (pl.) ; N. CHATZIDAKIS, *L'art des icônes en Crète* (Charleroi, 1982), no. 10.

(20) CHATZIDAKIS, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs*, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

(21) For the convent, see note 1. O. MEINARDUS, "The Byzantinica of Scetis", in *BSAC*, XXII, 1974-5, 177-184 refers to 16th to 17th century Cretan icons in the Wadi an-Natrun monasteries.

SPORADIC NOMINALIZATION OF ADJECTIVES IN *-ΩΠΟΣ* IN MIDDLE AND MODERN GREEK

P. Chantraine has pointed out that a good number of compounds formed with the formatives *-οπ-* or *-ωπ-* (from the PIE root **oqw-* 'to see') and possessing the sense of 'eye' or 'sight' (e.g. *γλαυκῶπις* 'with gleaming eyes' *Il.*, 1, 206, al. ; *δεινωπός* : *δεινώψ* 'fierce-eyed' HES., *Sc.*, 250 ; *εὐῶπις* 'fair-eyed' or 'fair to look on', *Od.*, 6, 113, al.) by a natural evolution came to denote 'face' or 'aspect', e.g. *κυνῶπις* 'dog-faced', *μέτωπον* 'forehead, face, front' (Homer). Gradually the sense of these formatives became vague. Sophocles uses the adjective *εὐώψ* in the sense 'fair to look at' in *Antigone*, 530 and in the sense 'fair' in *Oedipus Rex*, 189. Plato in *Laws*, 803 opposes the antonym *ἀρρενωπός* 'masculine' to *θηλυγενής* 'feminine, womanish'. A more radical change of the sense of *-ωπος* can be seen in *στερεωπός* used in Empedocles 26, 6 as the equivalent of *στερεός* 'firm, solid', as well as in *κοιλωπός* and *εὐρωπός* which Euripides uses in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 263 and 626 in a sense equivalent to *κοῖλος* 'hollow' and *εὐρύς* 'wide, broad', respectively. In *ἀγριωπὸν ὄμμα* 'wild look' (*E. HF*, 990) and in *ὄμμα φαιδρωπόν* 'bright look' (*E., Or.*, 894) the adjectives *ἀγριωπός* 'wild-looking' and *φαιδρωπός* 'bright-looking' play the role of a 'poetic' substitute for *ἄγριος* 'wild' and *φαιδρός*, respectively. It is interesting to note that in these two examples the adjectives in *-ωπος* are grouped together with *ὄμμα* 'eye, look'. In later authors there is a good number of adjectives in *-ωπος* with the sense of the suffix effaced. Thus, *σκολιωπός* 'looking askew' and generally 'oblique' figures in Manilius 4, 78 in the sense of *σκολιός* 'curved, bent' and *ξανθωπός* 'blond or yellow-looking' is used in Oppianus, *C.*, 2, 382 in the sense of *ξανθὸς* 'blond'. Likewise, in Hesychius *γογγυλωπός* has been equated with *γογγύλος* 'round' ([1]). With the gradual

(1) P. CHANTRAINE, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris, 1933, 257-258.

effacement of the original sense of the suffix *-ωπος*, forms like, for example, *ἀγριωπός* 'wild-looking' came to mean 'somewhat wild, wildish'. Thus, among other parallel formations, *ξανθωπός* came to mean 'blondish' in Modern Greek, a sense similar to *ὑπόξανθος* 'yellowish' or 'lightish brown' Hp., *Epid.*, 3, 1 *ιβ'* (cf. also *κόκκινος* 'red' : *κοκκινωπός* 'reddish', the Modern Greek equivalent of *ὑποκόλλινος* 'reddish' *PGef.*, 2.28.5. It has been proposed that adjectives in *-ωπος*, expressing a sense somewhat similar to but not quite the same as that of the forms from which they originated (that is, a lesser or reduced degree of sense) gradually developed a diminutive force. A good number of them, especially those denoting color, came to be used in Modern Greek in a sense similar to that of English *-ish*, German *-ich*, French *-âtre*, Italian *-astro*, and Lithuanian *-svas* (cf. *πράσινος* 'green' > *πρασινωπός* 'greenish' : German *grünlich* : French *verdâtre* : Italian *verdastro* : Lithuanian *žalsvas* < *žālias* 'green') (2).

In the dialect of Rhodes, the adjectives *καλωπός*, *μεγαλωπός* and *μικρωπός*, among others, correspond respectively to common Modern Greek *καλούτσικος* 'moderately good, goodish', *μεγαλούτσικος* 'biggish or oldish' and *μικρούτσικος* 'somewhat small, smallish' (3). In the dialect of Pontos, the *-ωπος* adjectives have been replaced by those in *-ωτος* or *-ειδής* with a diminutive force. Thus, common Modern Greek *κιτρινωπός* 'yellowish', *κοκκινωπός* 'reddish', *μαυρωπός* 'blackish, darkish', and *πρασινωπός* 'greenish' correspond respectively to Pontic *κιτρινωτός*, *κοκκινωτός*, *μαυρωτός*, and *πρασινειδής* (4). In Thera, *(ἡ)λιωπός* has survived as the equivalent of *ἡλιοκαής* 'sunburnt' (5) and in Laconia (Mane) *ἀγκαθωπός* : *ἀκαν-*

(2) G. BABINIOTIS, *Ὁ διὰ συνθέσεως ὑποκορισμὸς εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικήν*, Athens, 1969, 191-193, 195-196, 200 ; G. HATZIDAKIS, *Ἀκαδημεικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα (AA)*, Athens, 2 (1930), 304 ; IDEM., *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά (MNE)*, Athens (1907), 456 ; IDEM., *Indogermanische Forschungen (IF)*, 2 (1893), 411 ; cf. F. KLUGE-W. MITZKA, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Berlin, 1967, 439 ; C. ONIONS *et al.*, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford, 1966, 542 ; A. LESKIEN, *Die Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen*, Leipzig, 1891, 345-346 ; C. BATTISTI-G. ALESSIO, *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, Firenze, 5 (1956), 4017.

(3) K. AMANTOS, *Γλωσσικὰ μελετήματα*, Athens, 1964, 535.

(4) G. BABINIOTIS, *op. cit.*, 201 ; A. PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου (ILPD)*, Athens, 1 (1958), 444, 445 ; 2 (1961), 27, 230.

(5) Cf. Z. GAVALAS, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 45 (1933), 200.

θωπός is similar in sense to *ἀκανθώδης* 'full of thorns, thorny' (cf. *ἀγκαθωπὸ φρύγανο* 'thorny brushwood', *ἀγκαθωπὸ τριαντάφυλλο* 'thorny rose') and a synonym of *ἀγκυλωπός* 'thorny' Cyclades ([6]). In many dialects the modern equivalent of *ἀκανθών* is the collective place name *Ἀγκαθωπὴ* 'thorny brake, spinetum' (cf. also *Λυγαρωπή* 'willow-grove' Chios, *Πετρωπός*: *πετρών* 'rocky or stoney place' Chios, *Ρεικωπός* 'heath-thicket' Chios, *Ρεικωπό* id. Melos, *Μυλιωπό* 'place with millstones' Icaria, *Πλακωπό* 'a place with slabs' Syros, among numerous others) ([7]). It is self-evident that innovations like, for example, *Ἀγκαθωπή* (sc. *γῆ* 'earth, land'), *Πετρωπός* (sc. *τόπος* 'place') and *Ρεικωπό* (sc. *μέρος* 'place') are the result of nominalization of these former adjectives. This process of nominalization dates from antiquity. As *στε(ι)νωπὸς ὁδός* 'narrow street' (*Il.*, 7, 143 ; 23, 416) was nominalized to *στενωπός* m. 'mountain pass, defile' (S. *OT*, 1328) and *στενωπή* f. 'narrow passage, strait' (Plu., *Prov.*, 1.61) so *χρυσωπός* (sc. *ἰχθῦς*) is attested in Plu., 977 f. as a synonym of *χρύσοφρυς* 'gilthead, dorade, Chrysophrys aurata' ([8]), cf. also *εἰσωπή*: *ἐσωπή* 'aspect' Opp., *H.*, 4.358.

On the other hand, the nominalization of adjectives in *-ωπος* with regression of the stress is widely attested. K. Amantos ([9]) gives the following sample of goats named after their color or the shape of their horns from the dialect of Chios: 1. *κατῶπα* f. 'grey goat', lit. 'cat-colored' (from *κατωπή*: *κάτ(τ)α* 'cat' plus *-ωπή* ; 2. *κοριῶπα* f. 'goat with facial streaks of cheastnut color', lit. with facial streaks having the color of a *κόρις*: *κοριός* 'bed-bug' ; 3. *λαγῶπα* f. 'grey or dark-colored goat', lit. 'hare-colored', attested also in Crete as a noun and in the Greek enclaves of Southern Italy in its original adjectival form (ega *lagopi*: *λαγῶπα* Bova) ([10]), cf. also *λάγειος*: *λάγ(ε)ιο ἀρνί*

(6) *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς (HLNH)*, ed. Academy of Athens, 1 (1933), 131, 151.

(7) G. Hatzidakis, *IF*, 2, 441 ; Idem., *MNE*, 2, 456-457 ; K. Amantos, *op. cit.*, 47, 48, 100 ; Z. Gavalas, *op. cit.*, 200, 201.

(8) D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes (GGF)*, London, 1947, 292-294 ; R. Strömberg, *Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen*, Göteborg, 1943, 26.

(9) K. Amantos, *op. cit.*, 47-48, 100-101.

(10) G. Rohlfs, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris (LGII)*, Tübingen, 1964, 288.

'grey or dark-colored lamb', Romanian *laie* f. 'grey sheep' etc. ([11]) ; 4. *τραγῶπα* 'a straight-horned goat', lit. with horns similar to those of a *τράγος* 'he goat', that is, *ὀρθοκέρατη* 'straight- or upright-horned'. These are nominalized derivatives of the respective *κατωπή*, *κοριωπή*, *λαγωπή* and *τραγωπή* (sc. *αἶγα* 'goat') ([12]). In Icaria, the noun *ἴτσωπον* n. 'goat meat' is a nominalized derivative of *ἰτσωπόν κρέας* id. (< **αἰ(γ)ιτσωπόν* : *αἰγίτσα* f. 'goat') and the same is true of the place name *Κοντυλῶπος* m. Chios, which resulted from *κοντυλωπός* 'knobby' ([13]). It is interesting to note that *χαλεπός* 'difficult' is attested in the Greek enclaves of Southern Italy as *halipó* 'rovo' (cf. *horafía me halipá* 'terreni con rovi' Bova : *Halipá* place name in Reggio : Mammola) and *halipu* 'arbusto spinoso' (Reggio : Africo, Melito) : *Halipa* place name in Reggio : San Lorenzo. In Crete and elsewhere, the feminine *χαλεπή* yielded the noun *χαλέπα* f. 'rocky or stony ground' : *Χαλέπα* f. id. ([14]).

Apart from *αἶγα λαγωπή* : *λαγῶπα* Bova, *αἶγα μαργαρωπή* : capra con *margari*, *margani* 'bargigli sotto il collo' (*μάργαρον* 'perl') Reggio, and *αἶγα μαυρωπή* 'capra di manto nerognolo' Bova, where the suffix *-ωπη* means 'likeness' or 'similarity' ([15]), in Icaria *πιθάριν κρασωπόν* 'wine-jar' and *πιθάριν λαδωπόν* 'oil-jar' ([16]) show that the suffix *-ωπος* came to be used in a sense similar to that of the suffix *-ικος*, e.g. *ἐλάδιον* 'oil' : *ἐλαδικόν* (sc. *δοχεῖον* 'container')> *aladiko* 'ampollino dell olio' Bova : common Modern Greek *λαδικό* 'oil-cruet' ([17]). Parallel to the nominalized derivatives *διαβατικόν* (sc. *τέλος* 'dues') 'tax imposed on transportation cost for merchandise' (Assizes, 238, 27) and *ὀνικόν* (sc. *κτῆνος* 'beast') 'donkey' (a. 1189 : *ὀνικά δύο*) we have the innovation **ἀρνικόν* 'lamb' whose diminutives *ἀρνίκιν* (Cappadocia, Pontos) and *ἀρνίτσιν* (Cappadocia, Cy-

(11) N. ANDRIOTIS, *Ἐτυμολογικὸ λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς (ELKN)*, Thessalonike, 1967, 177.

(12) K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 101.

(13) D. GEORGACAS, *A Graeco-Slavic Controversial Problem Reexamined : The ITS Suffixes*, *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 47 (1982), 150, 151 ; K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 101.

(14) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 554 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *Lexicon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten (LAND)*, Wien, 1974, 591-592.

(15) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 288, 317, 320.

(16) G. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 150.

(17) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 141 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 178.

prus) came to be used as synonyms of *ἀρνούππιν* 'one year old lamb' Cyprus ([18]). The suffix *-ουππιν* of this form, whose information is obscure ([19]), can safely be explained as a derivative of a nominalized **ἀρνωπόν* n. 'lamb' coined after *ἀρνίν* id. and the suffix *-ωπος* in a fashion parallel to that of *ὀνικόν* from *ὄνος* 'donkey'. As the augmentatives *πόντικας* m. and *ποντίκα* f. resulted from *ποντίκι(ον)* dim. of *ποντικός* 'mouse', so the augmentative *ἀρνούππα* has been explained as a derivative of *ἀρνούππιν* ([20]). This interpretation sheds light on a number of forms sharing reflexes of the suffix *-ωπος*, which have been variously interpreted.

According to B. Phabes, the adjective *κουτσουμπός* 'docked, curtailed' (common and dialectal Modern Greek) draws on *κοσύμβη, κόσυμβος* 'fringe' (cf. **ἀνάδεσμα ... καὶ ὅπερ αἱ Κρῆσσαι φοροῦσιν, ὅμοιον ἀσπιδίσκῃ* Hesychius) ([21]). The hypothesis that *ἀσπιδίσκη* stands for *ἀπιδίσκῳ* (as in Codex Marcianus) dat. of *ἀπιδίσκος* 'little pear', which B. Phabes used to explain the semantic change from 'fringe' to 'round' → 'docked', has not been accepted ([22]). Apart from the semantic difficulty, the reflex *τσ* [*ts*] requires the geminate *σσ* of the *varia lectio κοσσύμβη* or *κόσσυμβος* (Hesychius) ([23]). The dialectal variant *γκουτσουπός* (Aenos) has been explained as a derivative of *κουτσουμπός* with metathesis of the nasal ([24]). This explanation is refuted by the lexeme *κούτσουπον* 'carrob' (cf. *κουτσουπία* 'carrob-tree') and the variants *kuzzupa* f. 'focaccia o panino pasquale coronato di uova' (Catanzaro, Cosenza, Reggio), *kuttsupu* 'vaso senza manico o senza collo' (Reggio), *kuzzupu* (Messina : Ali), *kuttsupa* id. (Messina : Furci), which have been linked with *κουτσός* 'lame, mutilated,

(18) D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 134, 135 ; G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 362 ; *HLNH*, 3 : 1 (1941), 104.

(19) *HLNH*, 3, 104.

(20) Cf. N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 290 ; D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 108, 346.

(21) *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, Hauniae, I (1953), 248.

(22) B. PHABES, *Λεξικογραφικὸν ἀρχεῖον τῆς μέσης καὶ νέας ἑλληνικῆς (LA)*, Athens, 6 (1923), 351-355 ; IDEM., *Λεξικογραφικὸν δελτίον (LD)*, ed. Academy of Athens, 2 (1940), 84-85. A similar interpretation has been proposed by M. DEFFNER, *Λεξικὸν τῆς Τσακωνικῆς διαλέκτου*, Athens, 1923, 197.

(23) Cf. D. MOUTSOS, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (KZ)*, 89 (1975), 241.

(24) B. PHABES, *LD*, 2, 84-85.

docked' ([25]). However, the hypothesis that the variants from Southern Italy draw on *κουρούπι, κουρούπα* 'clay vessel' with the interference of *κουτσός* does not seem to be convincing. What seems to be the case is that *κουτσουμπός*, the equivalent of *κολοβός* 'docked, curtailed', which in Laconia is attested as 'hunchbach, shorty ; idiot ; young kid ; baby' ([26]), is a variant of *κουτσουπός* with nasal epenthesis. This, in turn, should be understood as a nominalized derivative of **κουτσωπός* (from *κουτσός* and the suffix *-ωπος*), which can shed light on the origin of *kuttsupu* : *kuzzupu* (cf. *κουτσαγγεῖον* 'vasis genus, sic appellatum a sui brevitate') ([27]), Pontic *κουτζούπιν* 'a kind of oblong prune' ([28]), *γκουτσούπι* 'stump' (Verroea), *γκουτσούπα* f. id. (Velvendos), *κουτσούμπα* 'hump' (Laconia) *kuzzupa* 'focaccia o panino pasquale coronato di uova' (Catanzaro, Cosenza, Reggio), *kutsupa* 'vaso senza manico o senza collo' (Messina : Furci), *κουζούπα* 'trunk, stem' Cyprus (Middle Greek *κουζούπα* id.) ([29]) and *κούτσουπον* 'carrob ; horn', among numerous other variants and derivatives. In light of this evidence, the name *Κουτσουρούπας* (cf. the place name *Κουτσουρούπα, τοῦ*) can easily be explained from *κούτσουρο* 'trunk' and the suffix *-ωπος*. It is well to point out that *Κουτσουμπός, Κουτσούμπα*, and *Κουτσουπιά* are widely attested as toponomastic terms ([30]). It thus becomes evident that Pontic *κουντούπας* (Kerasous), *κουντούπης* (Nikopolis) and *κουντούπα* (Oenoe) 'shorty' ([31]) draw on a protoform formed after *κοντός* 'short' and the suffix *-ωπος*, with derivational developments similar to those of **κουτσωπός*.

The hypothesis that the obscure Pontic *τζιναχώπιν* (misspelt *τζιναχόπιν*), pl. *τζιναχώπια* 'school of small fish' (Inepolis) comes from *τζινάχιν* 'spark' seems to be correct (cf. *ἄζα* 'heat, spark, ashes, soot', *ἀζῖννα* 'spark' ; torch' : *τσίννα* Bova, *ἄζῖνα* Cyprus, *ἀντζῖνα* Libys-

(25) G. MEYER, *Neugriechische Studien (NS)*, Wien, 2 (1894), 98 ; G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 271 s.v. *κουρούπι*.

(26) B. PHABES, *LA*, 6, 355.

(27) Cf. D. MOUTSOS, *Byzantion*, 44 (1975), 399.

(28) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 483.

(29) D. MOUTSOS, *Byzantion*, 44, 340 ; DUCANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graeciatatis* (Lyon, 1688), repr. Graz, 1958 s.v.

(30) Cf. D. GEORGACAS-W. MCDONALD, *Place names of Southwest Peloponnesus*, Athens, 1967, 170 ; K. ELIOPOULOS, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 52 (1948), 188.

(31) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 483.

sion) ([32]). The ichthyonym has been borrowed into Turkish as *cinakop*. It is a member of the *Lüfer* (*λουφάρι*) *baliği*, the only representative of the family Pomatomidae, which Michèle Nicolas describes as follows: "Ce tassergal ou Temnodon sauteur (Temnodon ou Pomatomus saltator L.), 'aux dents coupantes' (*temn-odon*), a un corps long, aux flancs plats. Vivant, il a des reflets bleus qui lui ont donné ses noms allemand et anglais Blaufisch et bluefish" ([33]). Thus, the perception of *τζινακώπιν* as a sparkling fish is semantically justified and should be understood as a parallel of the ichthyonyms *αἰολίας* m. (cf. *αἰόλος* 'quick-moving, nimble, glittering') and *γλαῦκος* m. Epich., 49, 50 (cf. *γλαυκός* 'gleaming; bluish green or grey'), among others ([34]). In the Greek enclaves of Southern Italy, derivatives of *σπίνθουλλα* 'scintilla' came to mean 'variegated', cf. *mia púḍḍa spittiḍḍomèni* 'una gallina di vari colori' ([35]). Similar semantic developments are widely attested, cf. *σπινθαρίς*: Spinturnix avis incendiaria Plin., 10.13, 36; MHG '*glim* 'Funke', *gleime* 'Glühwürmchen' ([36]). The derivation of *τζινακώπιν* from *τζινάκιν* and the suffix *-ωπος* provides a parallel formation for the obscure Cyprian *ἀζουπόύ(δ)ιν* 'ember' which can be safely traced to an underlying **ἀζωπός* and the suffix *-ουδι(ο)ν*, a derivative of *ἄζα* ([37]) (cf. *ἄζωπες· αἱ ξηραὶ ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας* Hesychius).

In view of this evidence, dialectal *ἀγκλούπι* 'calabash' (attested in the Dodecanese and the Cyclades) and the augmentative *ἀγκλούπα* (of the same geographical distribution) need not be derived from the contrived and rather unlikely coalescence of the widely attested *ἀγκλιά* < *ἀντλία* 'bucket' (cf. *σεῦτλον* 'beet' > *σεῦκλον* id.) and the noun *κουρούπι* 'clay vessel' ([38]) but from the nominalized adjective **ἀντλωπός*, a parallel formation of the *ἀρνούππιν* > *ἀρνούππα* derivation. Although the formation of this adjective after *ἀντλία* should be **ἀντλ(ι)ωπός* and with subsequent deletion of the vowel *ι*

(32) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 2, 386; *HLNH*, 1, 288, 292; N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 71.

(33) Michèle NICOLAS, *Poissons et pêche en Turquie*, Paris, 1974, 56.

(34) D'Arcy W. THOMPSON, *GGF*, 5, 48; K. STRÖMBERG, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

(35) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 477.

(36) D'Arcy W. THOMPSON, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London, 1936, 266; F. KLUGE-W. MITZKA, *op. cit.*, 261 s.v. *glimmen*.

(37) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 2, 386; *HLNH*, 1, 293.

(38) *HLNH*, 1, 143.

**ἀντλωπός* (cf. the collective place name *Καρυωτή* > *Καρωτή* Carpathos, Crete) ([39]), the later can be directly derived from either the variants *ἄντλος*, *ἄντλον* 'bucket' or the dim. *ἀντλίον* > *ἀγκλί* (Chios) ([40]) and the suffix *-ωπος*, cf. the innovations *κρασωπόν* (*κρασί* 'wine'), *λαδωπόν* (*λάδι* 'oil') and *σιταρωπόν* (*σιτάρι* 'wheat') which are used in Icaria as epithets of *πιθάρι* 'jar' ([41]). The derivation of Middle Greek *ἀγουρούπα* 'herbae species' ([42]) and dialectal *μαλλούπα* f. 'a slate covered with fleecy seaweed' (Cyprus) ([43]) should be understood on similar grounds.

On the strength of *κότυλον*, a variant of *κοτύλη* 'small vessel, cup', which came to mean 'nape of the neck' in Middle Greek (cf. St. Athanasius spuria 558B : *Κατοικεῖ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄπισθεν μέρει τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅπερ κότυλον ὀνομάζεται*), and its derivative *κούτελο* 'forehead' ([44]), the hypothesis could be made that *κύτος* 'hollow', which is attested as 'occiput' (Arist., *PA*, 656[b], 26 : *τὸ ὀπίσθιον κύτος*), underwent a semantic development similar to that of *κότυλον*. Such hypotesis would enable us to assume that the obscure dialectal *κουτούπι* 'forehead', *κουτούπα* f. 'forehead, occiput' can be explained from an underlying adjective formed after *κύτος* and the suffix *-ωπος* ([45]). On the other hand, common Modern Greek *κούτικας* 'nape of the neck' and more specifically the variant *ἀγκούτικας* (*ἀγγούτικας*) has been variously interpreted. G. Meyer sought to explain it as an augmentative of the dim. **ἀγγουτίκι* < OCS *qkotъ* 'uncinus' ([46]) which can hardly explain the variants *κούτικας* m., *ἀκούτης* m. and *ἀκούτη* f. ([47]). Any attempt to derive it from *κοττίς*,

(39) K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 95, 99, 446 ; cf. D. MOUTSOS, *IF*, 88 (1983), 176.

(40) *HLNH*, 1, 143.

(41) Cf. D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 150.

(42) DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 347.

(43) P. XIOUTAS, *Κυπριακὴ λαογραφία τῶν ζῴων*, *Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν*, Nicosia, 1978, 347.

(44) *Patrologia graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 24, 553 ; K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 187 f., cf. also DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 745 and 783 sv. *λάκκος Graecis est fossa. Apud medicos vero sumitur pro parte colli quam σφαγήν vocant. Latini iugulum. Hypatus MS. de Partibus corporis : σφαγή, ὁ λάκκος τοῦ τραχήλου ; Apud eundem ἰνίον exponitur ὀπισθόλακκος occipitium.*

(45) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 49 (1939), 127 ; I. SVORONOS, *Λαογραφία*, 7 (1923), 139.

(46) G. MEYER, *NS*, 2, 13.

(47) *HLNH*, 1, 366.

name for 'the head' in Doric (Poll., 2, 29), and the variant *κοτίς* 'occiput' (Hp., *Morb.*, 2, 20, cf. Erot., 115 [Nachmanson] where the word is glossed by *τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ κορυφή* and Gal., 19, 113 where it has been equated with *ἰνίον, παρεγκεφαλίς*) can hardly account for the derivational details. Direct derivation of it from the Hesychian gloss *κόττικοι· αἱ περικεφαλαῖαι* cannot be justified semantically ([48]).

The obscure origin of *κοτ(τ)ίς* and *κόττος* 'cock ; die' makes it difficult to distinguish between the primary meaning and the secondary semantic developments of these congeners, though as P. Chantraine pointed out they can all be explained from the notion 'head' ([49]). Although Hj. Frisk accepts R. Strömberg's view that the riverfish *κόττος* 'bullhead, Cotus gobio' Arist., *HA*, 534[a] 1 (> French *cotte* id., Spanish *coto* 'sculpin') ([50]) draws on the notion 'cock' and should be understood as a parallel semantic development of the German ichthyonym *Knurrhahn* 'Trigla gurnardus' ([51]), P. Chantraine describes it as being 'le chabot, petit poisson à grosse tête cuirassée' ([52]).

Apart from common Modern Greek *κόττα* f. 'hen' and *ξυλόκοττα* f. 'woodcock' (Epirus), *κόττος* m. 'cock' persists in the dialect of Pontos as a variant of **κόσσος*, the source of *κοσσάριν, κοσσάρα* 'hen' (cf. *κοττακίδα* id. Cerasous) ([53]). Parallel to the derivation of Pontic *κοτζέας* from the synonymous *κοτζός* 'truncated ; lame', we have the homophone *κοτζέας* 'cock' (Pontos) from *κότσος* which is attested in Cythnos as 'male partridge' ([54]). As *βῶτσος* 'Schwartzgrundel, Gobius niger' resulted from the dim. **βωτσί(ον)* of *βῶξ, βόαξ* 'a grunting fish, Box boops', so *κότσος* can be similarly derived from *κότσι(ον)* dim. of *κόττος* (cf. *βουττίον* > *βουτζίον* 'barrel', a. 1192,

(48) B. PHABES, *LD*, 2, 91-92 ; M. PHILENTAS, *Γλωσσογνωσία καὶ γλωσσογραφία ἑλληνική*, Athens, 1 (1924), 27.

(49) P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 572.

(50) W. v. WARTBURG, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 : 2 (1946), 1259 ; J. COROMINAS, *op. cit.*, 1, 927.

(51) Hj. FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1 (1973), 933 ; R. STRÖMBERG, *op. cit.*, 119.

(52) P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 573 ; cf. D. W. THOMPSON, *GGF*, 128-129.

(53) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 330, 331 ; A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 472, 475 ; E. BONGAS, *Τὰ γλωσσικὰ ἰδιώματα τῆς Ἠπείρου*, Ioannina, 1 (1964), 277.

(54) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 473 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 331.

ὀσπίτιον > *ὀσπίτζιον* 'house', a. 1233) ([55]). On similar grounds we can explain the derivation of common Modern Greek *κότσος* 'chignon, bun' which N. Andriotis linked with *κόττος*, apparently in the sense 'head' ([56]), but left the derivational details unexplained, a fact that made P. Chantraine hesitant in accepting this etymon ([57]). The conger *κοτσίδα* 'plait, pigtail' (cf. also *κοτσίδι* n. id. East Corinthia) has been rightly explained from the acc. of **κοττίς* dim. of *κόττος*.

On the basis of the second component of the compound *πρόκοττα · προκόμιον* (Poll., 2, 29, Hesychius, Photius), A. Koraes reconstructed the protoform **κόττη* to account for the origin of *κούτελον* 'forehead' and *κόσσος* 'box on the ear, cuff' ([58]). On the other hand, W. v. Wartburg sought the origin of Old Provençal *cota* 'nape of the neck' (cf. the variants *couota* Nice, *kuté* Muy, *couté* Languedoc) and the Middle French *cotivet* 'partie supérieure du cou d'une poule', among other variants, in Greek **κόττη* ([59]). In discussing the Ibero-Romance cognates of *cota*, J. Corominas observed: "Pero más bien el tipo **cottu* postulado por las voces iberorromances será de origen prerromano (?), como sugiere dubitativamente M. Pidal, o más bien de creación expresiva. De todos modos es inverosímil el origen griego" ([60]). J. Hubschmid, who maintains that the Ibero-Romance forms (Spanish *cueto* 'cerro, altozano', Gallician-Portuguese *coto* 'nudillo de los dedos', *cotorina* 'cabeza, cima, lo mas alto' Sierra de Gata, etc.) and their Franco-Provençal cognates draw on a pre-Indo-European **kotto – *kotta*, proposes the following explanation for Old Provençal *cota*: "Es ist daher fraglich, ob aprov. *cota* wirklich griechischen Ursprungs ist. Das Wort könnte auch aus einer älteren Sprachschicht stammen und mit (vor) gr. **κόττη* urverwandt sein" ([61]). The hypothesis that **κόττη* is of pre-Indo-European origin has not been

(55) D. MOUTSOS, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 21 (1985), 74-75 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 167 ; IDEM., *LAND*, 190 ; G. CARACAUSI, *Byzantino – Sicula*, II : *Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Rossi Taibbi*, Palermo, 1975, 122, 124, 125.

(56) N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 167.

(57) P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 573.

(58) A. KORAES, *Ἄτακτα*, Paris, 1 (1828), 60, 146.

(59) W. v. WARTBURG, *op. cit.*, 2 : 2, 1259.

(60) J. COROMINAS, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (DELC)*, Bern, 1 (1954), 1. 973 ; cf. M. PIDAL, *Origines del español*, Madrid, 1950, 405-406.

(61) J. HUBSCHMID, *Romance Philology (RPh)*, 6 (1952-1953), 194-195.

accepted ([62]). The reconstruction of it is supported by dialectal *ἀκούτη* f. 'nape of the neck' Peloponnesus (with prothetic *α*, cf. *βδέλλα* 'llech' > *ἀβδέλλα* id.) ([63]) and *ἀκούτης* m. id. Peloponnesus, Zacynthos ([64]). Thus it is reasonable to assume that *κούτικας* m. 'sinciput ; occiput' originated as an augmentative of *κουτίκι* ([65]), < **κοττίκιον* dim. of a nominalized adjective **κοττικός, -όν,* a derivative of either *κόττος* 'head' or **κόττη* id. (cf. *ποντικός* 'mouse' > dim. *ποντίκι(ον)* > augm. *πόντικας* m.). DuCange explains *κούτικας* as *sinciput* 'front part of the head' ([66]), an idea doubted by A. Koraes but defended by M. Philentas ([67]). Dialectal *κουτουκίτσι* 'forehead' Cercyra, Paxoi, a derivative of *κουτίκι* and the suffix *-ιτσι* ([68]), corroborates M. Philentas' view. Thus *κούτικας* can provide the source of *ἀντικούτικας* 'occiput' (cf. *ἀντικέφαλον* id.) ([69]). With syncope of the pretonic *ι* and subsequent simplification of the cluster *-ntk-* to *-nk-* (i.e. *ἀντ(ι)κούτικας* > **ἀν(τ)κούτικας*), the form *ἀγκούτικας* resulted. In view of this evidence, the hypothesis could be made that *κουτούπι* n. 'head ; temples ; occiput', *κουτούπα* f. and *κούτουπας* m. originated from a nominalized adjective formed on *κόττος* and the suffix *-ωπος*. Such hypothesis is refuted by the fact that a variant of Middle Greek *κουδούπα* f. 'head' (Prodromos, 1, 154) persists in Cyprus as 'seaux en bois d'un moulin à eau ([70]) which apparently conveys the original meaning and ought to be traced to **κυτωπός* from *κύτος* 'vessel' and the suffix *-ωπός*. From this nominalized adjective originated dialectal *κουτούπι* n., *κουτούπα* f. and *κούτουπας* m. id. ([71]). in a fashion parallel to the *ἀρνούπιν* < *ἀρνούππα* derivation. This evidence suggests that Friulan *codòpe* 'Nacken' can be

(62) Hj. FRISK, *op. cit.*, 1, 933 ; P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 573.
(63) N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 2.
(64) *HLNH*, 1, 366.
(65) D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 127.
(66) DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 746.
(67) M. PHILENTAS, *loc. cit.*
(68) D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 127, 227.
(69) *HLNH*, 2, 273 ; DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 84.
(70) *Poèmes Prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, ed. D.-C. HESSELING et H. PERNOT (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks*, vol. XI, No. 1), Amsterdam, 1910, 157. For the *τ* > *δ* reflex see D. MOUTSOS, *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), 589.
(71) Cf. G. TSOUDEROS, *Ἡ ὁρολογία τῶν μερῶν τοῦ κεφαλιοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαιμοῦ στὰ ἀρχαῖα, μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά*, Athens, 1969, 131.

safely linked with Greek *κουτούπα* rather than with the hypothetical pre-Romance **kotuppa*, which J. Hubschmid considers as a cognate of *κοττίς* and Laz *ḳoṭula* 'Hinterkopf' ([72]). Semantic and phonological considerations suggest that Laz *ḳoṭula* is a loanword from the Pontic *κοτύλα* 'occiput' ([73]).

Latin *ascopa* 'leathern canteen' (cf. CGL, V, 517, 16 : *ascopa in similitudine utri* ; ibid., II, 568, 24 : *ascupa cavea*) has been equated with *'flasca'* in Old High German glosses, and Aelfric translates it into Old English as *flaxe, cylle, id est, lagena sive cadus, uter*, cf. also DuCange, s.v. *ascopa* 'vas est aquaticum utri persimile' ([74]). Although A. Ernout and A. Meillet maintain that *ascopa* is a popular adaptation of *ascopera* : *ἀσκόπηρα* 'a leathern bag or sack' (cf. Suet. Ner., 45, 2) or *ἀσκοπυτίνη* 'leathern canteen' (LXX, Ju., 10, 5) ([75]), G. Alessio sought the origin of it in **ἀσκωπός* 'utriforme' a derivative of *ἀσκός* 'leathern bag' which under the influence of Latin *lagena* 'flask' yielded the form *ascopa* the source of East Sicilian *skupinu, skupina*, Calabrian *skupinu, skupina* 'otre da olio' ([76]). This etymon has been accepted by J. Hubschmid ([77]) and somewhat hesitatingly by G. Rohlfs ([78]). Although the transformation of *ἀσκόπηρα* and *ἀσκοπυτίνη* to *ascopa* is possible, the doubtful attestation of the latter in Suet., *Ner.*, 45, 2 suggests that it can equally be derived from an underlying **ἀσκωπή* (sc. *λήκυθος* 'oil-flask' or *ὑδρία* 'water-pitcher', cf. *ἀσκός· ὑδρία* Hesychius, *ὑδρία* > Latin *uter*). Parallel formations like, for example, *στενωπή* f. 'narrow passage, strait' (Plu. Prov., 1, 61) and the dialectal innovations *κατῶπα, κοριῶπα, λαγῶπα* (Chios) corroborate this derivation. With the diminutive suffix *-αφι(ον)* (cf. *ξυρόν* 'razor' > *ξυράφι(ον)*, *χρυσός* 'gold' > *χρυσάφι(ον)*([79]), *συκέα* 'fig-tree' >

(72) J. HUBSCHMID, *Thesaurus Praeromanicus (ThP)*, Bern, 1 (1963), 81.

(73) Cf. A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 475 ; cf. J. HUBSCHMID, *RPh*, 6, 196 footnote II.

(74) J. HUBSCHMID, *Schläuche und Fässer (SF)*, Bern, 1955, 79.

(75) E. ERNOUT-A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1967, 50. The reading *ascopa* in Suet. Ner., 45, 2 has not been accepted, cf. H. AILLOUD, *Suétone vies des douze césars*, Paris, 2 (1967), 159 ; see also *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 2 (1900-1906), 772.

(76) G. ALESSIO, *Archivo storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 3 (1933), 146.

(77) J. HUBSCHMID, *SF*, 80.

(78) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 62.

(79) K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 528, 546.

σουκεάφι Mane), the same protoform can provide an etymon for the obscure dialectal *(ά)σκουπάφι, σκουμπάφι*, a container made of the skin of a goat and used for the collection of resin from pine-trees (which in recent years has been replaced by a tin can) East Corinthia.

Ph. Koukoules sought the origin of dialectal Modern Greek *κουτρούπι* 'clay vessel' and the variant *κουτρούβι* (cf. Middle Greek *κουτρούβιον* which I. Tsetzes [*Scholia ad Lyc.*, 787] has equated with *βομβυλιός* 'narrow-necked vessel that gurgles in pouring') in *κροτάφιον* dim. of *κρόταφος* 'side of the forehead, temple' ([80]), an etymon endorsed and more elaborately discussed by Henry and Renée Kahane ([81]). This explanation, which cannot account for the assumed *f*>*p* reflex of the variant *κουτρούπι*, is somewhat similar to that of G. Alessio who maintains that *κουτρούφι* and its variants draw on regional medieval Latin *cutrufarus* 'cuppa, urceus' (Cod. Barensis, a. 1202), supposedly a loanword from Greek *χυτροφόρος* 'bearing a pot or pots' (Scholia Ar. Av. 448) ([82]). On the other hand, J. Corominas proposed that late Latin *chytropus, -podis* 'a pot or chafing-dish with feet for coals', a loanword from Greek *χυτρόπους* 'stand for a pot', is the origin of the following forms : *kutrúf(f)u* 'carrafa di vetro' (Sicily) ; *cutrufo* 'ampulla' (Old Neapolitan) ; *kotrífo* 'vaso di creta' (Umbria) ; *kətraufə* 'coppo, orciolo' (Bari) ; *cutrufarus* 'cuppa, urceus' (Bari) ; dialectal Modern Greek *kutrupi, kutrubbi* (Otranto) and *kutrubbu* 'piccollo vaso di creta per l'olio a tavola' (Salento) ; *kutrummulu* 'oliera' ('Catanzaro') ; *kutrummedda* 'vaso di creta per acqua' (Brindisi) ; *kutruni* ; *kutroni* 'vaso di terracotta' ; *cutrupieḍḍu* 'piccolo recipiente o persona bassa' (North Calabria) ; Spanish *cotrofe, cotofre* 'vasija ; medida de capacidad para liquidos' ; Old Occitan *cotofle* 'a kind of flask' ; MHG, *kuterolf, kottrolf* 'narrow-necked wine-flask'. In regard to the *p*>*f* reflex, J. Corominas observed : "Según ocurrió muchas veces con los helenismos del latín decadente, se sustituyó aquí

(80) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5 (1915-1916), 327-331 ; IDEM., *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 40 (1939), 89 ; IDEM., *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός (BBP)*, 5 (1952), 163 ; IDEM., *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 57 (1953), 210 ; S. CARATZAS, *BZ*, 50 (1957), 449.

(81) H. and R. KAHANE, *Graeco-Romance etymologies III*, in *Studia Hispanica in honorem R. Lapesa*, Madrid, 1 (1972), 323-333 ; cf. also H. and R. KAHANE, *Graeca et Romanica Scripta Selecta (GRSS)* : 1. *Romance and Mediterranean Lexicology*, Amsterdam, 1979, 505-507.

(82) C. BATTISTI-G. ALESSIO, *op. cit.*, 2, 1199.

una *π* griega por *ph* latina, commo ultracorrección de la pronunciación vulgar inversa (comp. *golfo, azufre*" ([83]).

The hypothesis that the *π*> *φ* reflex is the result of hypercorrection leaves the reflex *π*> *β* unexplained. It seems quite likely that these reflexes should be understood as sporadic changes of *π* in Greek, as the following evidence indicates : a. *π*> *β* : 1. *δόλπαι* 'small cakes' > *δολβαί* id. Hesychius ; 2. *ἐπίσκοπος* 'bishop' > *ἐβίσκοπος* id. Inscriptions Bureschianae (1902), No. 55, p. 31 (Lydia) ; 3. *κρώπιον* 'scythe, bill-hook' Pherecyd., 3.154 F > *κρόβιον* (Hesychius, s.v. *κρώπιον· δρέπανον. τινὲς δὲ διὰ τοῦ β κρόβιον*, cf. also ibid. s.v. *κρόπιον· ἀξίνη δίστομος*) ; 4. *πατάνη* 'a kind of flat dish' > *βατάνη*, id. Matro Conv., 85 ; 5. *πατέλλα* 'dish' (Latin *patella*) > *βατέλλα* POxy., 741.18 (II, A.D.) ; 6. *πατῶ* 'tread, walk' > Delphian *βατῶ* Plu., 2.2926 : *οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ φ τῷ β χρῶνται Δελφοί, καθάπερ Μακεδόνες ..., ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ π· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πατεῖν 'βατεῖν' καὶ τὸ πικρὸν 'βικρόν' ἐπιεικῶς καλοῦσιν*), cf. also the name *Πάτησις* Inscr. Delos, 103, 66 (*πάτησις* 'treading of grapes') > *Βάτησις*, ibid., 104, 124 ([84]) ; 7. *πιστάκη* 'pistachio-tree ; Pistachia vera' dim. *πιστάκιον* 'pistachio-nut' > *βιστάκιον, φιττάκιον*, Ath., 14, 649e ; 8. *πολτός* 'porridge' dim. *πολτάριον* > *βουλταρίδιον* PHolm., 2, 40 ; 9. *πυτίνη* 'flask covered with plaited osier' (> *πουτούνα* Pontos : Tripolis) > *βυτίνη· λάγυνος ἢ ἀμίς Ταραντῖνοι* Hesychius : *βυτίνη* 'big jar' Pontos : Inepolis, cf. also the place name *Βυτίνα* Arcadia ([85]) ; 10. *στύππη* 'the coarse fibre of flax or hemp, tow, oakum' > *στύβη*, id., CGL, II, 189, 49, *στύφη*, id., CGL, II, 439, 32 ; 11. *παραθαλαμίδι* 'a narrow partition in a trunk' > *βαρθαλαμίδι* id., Imbros, *βαρταλαμίδι* id., Crete *et alibi* ([86]) ; 12. *γύπη* 'vultur's nest ; den, hollow, cavity' (> *γούπα* 'pothole, cavity' Iconion, *γοῦππος* m. id., Cyprus, *γούπατο*, id., cf. *γουπποσάνιδον* 'abacus, asser in quo cuppae reponuntur') ([87]) > *γούβα* 'pothole, cavity' common Modern Greek,

(83) J. COROMIAS, *DELC*, 1, 931 ; cf. G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 574.

(84) O. MASSON, *Onomata, Revue onomastique*, Athens, 10 (1986), 28-31.

(85) Cf. P. KRETSCHMER, *Glotta*, 31 (1948), 103-104 ; P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 292, 862, 863,907, 927 ; Hj. FRISK, *GEW*, 1, 226, 278 and 2, 554, 577 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 475 ; A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 207 ; R. FOHALLE, *À propos de κυβερνᾶν gubernare*, in *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes par ses amis et ses élèves*, Paris, 1925, 160.

(86) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 431.

(87) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 200 ; DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 262.

γούφα Carpathos, Cyprus (cf. the name *Γουβίτζης* a. 1194) ([88]). The hypothesis that *γούβα* comes from *κύβη* 'head' EM, 543, 22, which B Phabes equated with *κύβος· τρύβλιον* 'cup, bowel', cannot account for the variants with the stop *p* ([89]) ; b. *π*> *φ* reflexes : 1. *Κυπαρισσία* > *Κυφαρισσία* epithet of Artemis Agrotera IG, 5 (1), 977 (Laconia), *κυπαρίσσινος* 'made or drawn from cypress ; cypress wood' > *κυφαρίσσινος*, IG., 4. 1588.7 (Aegina ; V B.C.) ; 2. *κύπελλον* 'big-bellied drinking-vessel, beaker, goblet' : *κύφελλα* pl. 'hollows of the earns' Lyc., 1402 ([90]) ; 3. *κόλπος* 'bosom, lap ; bay, gulf' > *κόλφος* 'bay' (Alexandria, 3rd-c. A.D.), *κόλφος* 'bosom' (Upper Egypt, 6th-c. A.D.) ([91]) ; 4. *καπυρός* 'dried, crackly, perched' > *καφυρός*, *καφουρός* 'dried, brittle' Carpathos, Cyprus (cf. *καβούρια* 'residue resulting from the preparation of lard' Carpathos), *káfero*, *kafaró*, id. Greek enclaves of Southern Italy, cf. the Sicilian monastery *τοῦ Καφηροῦ* : *Καφυροῦ*, a. 1099 ([92]) ; 5. *λατύπη* 'the chips of stone in hewing' dim. *λατούφι* 'little stone' Peloponnesus : Halonistaina ([93]) ; 6. *λούπης* 'milan' (cf. CGL, III, 319, 17 : *λούππις milvus*) : *λοῦπ(π)ος* > *λοῦφος* id. Carpathos *et alibi* ([94]) ; 7. *μάρσιπος* : *μάρσυππος* 'bag, pouch' dim. *μαρσύππιον*> *μουρτζούφ(ιν)* id. Pontos ([95]) ; 8. *μαστροπός* 'pimp' > *μαστροφός* Hesychius ; 9. *πάνδουρος* m. MAMA, 3.24 (*πανδοῦρα* f. 'three-stringed lute') >*φάνδουρος* 'monochord lute' Nicom. Harm. 4 ; 10. *πισκίνη* 'fishpond' Anton., 7.3. (Latin *piscina* id.) > *φισκίνα* 'fountain' Anast. S. relat. 51 ([96]) ; 11. Latin *posca* 'an acidulous drink of vinegar and water' > *φούσκα* 'sour wine' Aet., 3, 81 ; Alex. Trall., 5, 5, *φουσκάριον* 'wine-shop' Leont., N. v. Sym., 41

(88) Cf. B. PHABES, *LD*, 2, 89 ; F. TRINCHERA, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, Neapoli, 1865, 324, 343, 466.

(89) B. PHABES, *LD*, 2, 87-90.

(90) P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 600, 603-604 ; Hj. FRISK, *GEW*, 2, 50, 51, 52-53.

(91) H. and R. KAHANE, *RPh*, 27 (1973), 46-49 and *GRSS*, 1, 535-538.

(92) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 296 ; H. and R. KAHANE, *GRSS*, 1, 747 ; I. BOGIATZIDES, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 26 (1914) : Suppl. 109-120 ; S. CUSA, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1868-1882, 643 : F. TRINCHERA, *op. cit.*, 55, 61, 165.

(93) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 350.

(94) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 360 ; G. MEYER, *NS*, 3, 39 ; M. MIKHAĒLIDES-NOUAROS, *Λεξικὸν τῆς Καρπαθιακῆς διαλέκτου*, Athens, 1972, 250 ; D. GEORGACAS, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη*, Athens, 1960, 534-535.

(95) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 2, 19 ; N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 367.

(96) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, 1485.

(*PG*, 93, 1721A) ; 12. *πυρρός* 'flame-colored, yellowish-red' *φυρρός* id. (cf. PGen., 48, 8 [4th-c. A.D.] : *βοῦν φυράν*) > *φερρές* id. Scyros, cf. *βυρρός· κάνθαρος* Hesychius ([97]).

This evidence shows that *κουτρούβιον* (11th-c.) ([98]) and *κουτρούφι* (also a Middle Greek form, as the derivative *cutrufarus*, a. 1202, indicates) can be safely derived from *κουτρούπι(ον)*, whose Middle Greek provenience is supported by the Pontic personal name *Κουτρουπελόπουλος* and *Κουτρουπέλης* (13th-c.) ([99]), cf. the dim. *κουτρουμπέλλ'* 'small vessel' Lesbos ([100]). The hypothesis that *κουτρούπι* is the result of a cross between *κουτρούφι* and *κουρούπι* cannot be substantiated ([101]). G. Rohlfs, who had earlier sought to explain *κουτρούπι* and its congeners from *χύτρα* 'earthen pot, pipkin' with interference of the synonymous *trufa* ([102]), accepted J. Corominas' explanation and proposed separate entries for the derivatives of *χυτροπους*: *chytropus* and those of the dim. **χυτρόπιον*, that is, of *kutrupi, kutrubbi* n. 'oliera da tavola' Otranto as well as of the place name *Cutrufiano*, Dorf bei Galatina (lecc.) mit Tongefäss-Industrie, wo vor 150 Jahren noch griechisch gesprochen wurde ([103]).

Although the explanation proposed by J. Corominas for *κουτρούπι* and its congeners seems to be plausible on the surface, there are two more variants whose origin has not been satisfactorily established and which suggest a different explanation. In discussing the variant *kutroni* 'vaso di terracotta' Calabria, G. Rohlfs was ambivalent on whether this form ought to be linked to Modern Greek *κοτρώνι* 'rock' or to the obscure *κουτρουλός* 'mutilated, truncated' (cf. *κουτρούλης* 'depilatus, tonsus') ([104]). The attempt to explain *κοτρώνι* from **κροτώνιον*, a deverbative of *κροτῶ* 'make to rattle, clap' ([105]) is untenable on

(97) N. ANDRIOTIS, *LAND*, 475 ; P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 202 ; Hj. FRISK, *DEW*, 1, 227.

(98) Cf. H. and R. KAHANE, *GRSS*, 1, 505.

(99) D. GEORGACAS, *op. cit.*, 276.

(100) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5, 330.

(101) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5, 331, note 1.

(102) G. ROHLFS, Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien (GRU), Genève, 1924, 152.

(103) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 574.

(104) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 271 s.v. *κουρούπι*.

(105) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 30 (1919) : Suppl. 33 : N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 167.

semantic grounds. Alternatively, on the assumption that *κοτρώνι* could be related to the ancient place name *Κρότων* which P. Chantraine has hesitatingly linked with *κροτών* 'tick' ([106]) the hypothesis has been made for a pre-Indo-European origin of this word ([107]). The fact, however, that *κότρος* 'stone' is attested in dialectal Modern Greek (e.g. *κότρος* Pontos, *κοτάαδι* < *κοτράδι* Samothrace, *κοντρί* 'sasso, grossa pietra' Leukas and elsewhere, cf. also *kotru, kuotru* 'specie di creta dura' Catanzaro and the personal name *Ἰωάννης Κότρος*, a. 1130) ([108]) suggests that *κοτρώνι* is an original diminutive of *κότρος* (cf. the synonymous *λίθος* > *λιθώνι*, *πέτρα* > *πετρώνι*, *βραγός* 'fence' > *βραγώνι*) ([109]). As *βώλαξ* (*βῶλος* 'lump, clod of earth') yielded *βώλακας* 'large rock' Carpathos ([110]), so *κοτρώνι* came to mean 'large stone' in certain dialects (cf. also the augmentative *κοτρώνα* f.). On the other hand, Calabrian *kutroni* 'vaso di terracotta' is attested in the Albanian enclaves of Southern Italy as *kururun-i* id. ([111]) and in Scyros as *κουτρούνι* 'pot-headed' ([112]). It is therefore not a variant of *κοτρώνι* 'rock' but of *κουτρούπι*.

The obscure Middle Greek *κουτρούλης* 'depilatus, tonsus' has survived in common and dialectal Modern Greek with a variety of connotations, e.g. 'pot-headed ; shorn, bald, hornless ; multilated, truncated' etc. ([113]). S. Xanthoudides reconstructed a compound **κουτσοτρούλης* (from *κουτσός* 'mutilated, truncated, maimed' and *τροῦλλα* 'dome ; potlike mountain-top') as the origin of *κουτρούλης* despite the phonological and semantic difficulties ([114]). It is well to point out that a place name *Κουτσοτρούλ(λ)ης* is attested in

(106) P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 587.

(107) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 262.

(108) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 475 ; G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 257, 262. The Samothracian variant is from the Archives of the Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek of the Academy of Athens (henceforth Archives of the Historical Dictionary) ; cf. F. TRINCHERA, *op. cit.*, 142.

(109) Ph. KOUKOULES, *BZ*, 26 (1926), 325 ff. ; D. MOUTSOS, *KZ*, 88 (1974), 75-76 ; D. GEORGACAS, *Glotta*, 31 (1948), 206-210.

(110) M. MICHAĒLIDES-NOUAROS, *op. cit.*, 104-105.

(111) E. GIORDANO, *Dizionario degli albanesi d'Italia*, Bari, 1963, 218.

(112) Archives of the Historical Dictionary.

(113) Cf. DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 747 ; S. XANTHOUDIDES, *LA*, 6 (1923), 37 ; Ph. KOUKOULES, *BBP*, 3 (1949), 202 ; G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 272.

(114) S. XANTHOUDIDES, *op. cit.* This explanation has been wrongly attributed to K. Amantos by N. Andriotis, *ELKN*, 171.

Crete ([115]), but this can hardly be invoked to support S. Xanthoudides' etymon. M. Philentas sought to explain *κουτρούλης* as a derivative of **κουτροτρούλ(λ)ης* (from *κούτρα* 'head' and *τροῦλλα* 'dome'), a compound which he preceived to mean 'dome-headed' ([116]). This etymon, which has been hesitatingly accepted by N. Andriotis ([117]), is equally untenable on phonological grounds. On the other hand, G. Meyer reported that dialectal *κούτρουλο* n. and *κουτρούλι* n. are attested in the sense 'fractured pot' ([118]) (cf. *κουτρούβα* 'a jug with fractured brim and broken handles' Aenos, Madytos, Macedonia) ([119]). He compared these forms with *κούτρα* (which he wrongly derived from *χύτρα*) and *kutrullë* f. 'jug, pitcher' (Albanian enclaves of Calabria), whose origin he sought in dialectal Italian *chettrola, chettola* 'pendola, caldajo' and *cutrella* 'sechiolino di rame per attingere l'acqua'. He also proposed that the forms *kotrovë* and *katrovë* 'jug', among others, from the same Albanian enclaves are variants of *kutrullë* [*kutrułə*], with the reflex *υ* of the velar lateral *ł* ([120]). E. Çabej, who maintains that the form is *kutrulë* [*kutrul'ə*], also accepted the derivation of it from dialectal Italian *chettrola, cuttrella* but preferred to link *kotronë* and its variants with dialectal Italian *kutrufu, kutrufo*, congeners of *κουτρούφι* ([121]). A diminutive *kutrulezë* of *kutrulë* is attested in Attica with the connotation 'baldness ; pot-like mountain-top' ([122]). This evidence shows that, like Calabrian Albanian *kotrovë* (*κουτρούβι*) and *kuturun-i* (< *kutroni*: *κουτρώνι* 'vaso di terracotta'), *kutrulë* 'jug' can be safely linked to Greek *κουτρούλα* which today is attested as 'pot-headed ; bald, shorn ; mutilated, truncated, hornless, etc.' but whose original meaning was 'pot' as the variants *κούτρουλο* and *κουτρούλι* indicate.

(115) Cf. S. XANTHOUDIDES, *loc. cit.*

(116) M. PHILENTAS, *op. cit.*, 1, 25.

(117) N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 171.

(118) G. MEYER, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache (EWAS)*, Strassburg, 1891, 218.

(119) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5, 329, note 2.

(120) G. MEYER, *EWAS*, 218 ; cf. also E. GIORDANO (*op. cit.*, 217) who gives the forms *kutrolle, ja*, 'brocca, idria' and *kutrulle, ja*, id.

(121) E. ÇABEJ, *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëtor të Tiranës, Seria shkencat shoqerore*, 1963, N. 4, p. 88.

(122) I. SARRES, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 40 (1928), 143.

It thus becomes apparent that according to J. Corominas' etymon *κουτρούπι* can serve as the source of *κουτρούβι(ον)* and *κουτρούφι* but it cannot account for the variants *κουτρώνι* and *κουτρούλι* which point to an underlying *κούτρα* with the respective suffixes *-ωνιον* (cf. *λίθος* > *λιθώνι*) and *-ουλιον* (cf. *πεσσός* 'cube-like foundation, terrace' > *πεσσούλιον* 'a low parallelepipedal structure') ([123]). This explanation leads to the conclusion that *κουτρούπι* can also be explained from *κούτρα* and the suffix *-ωπος*. The relationship of *κουτρώνι* to *κουτρούπι* has a good parallel in late Middle Greek *κουτούνιον* 'occiput' ([124]), a variant of *κουτούπι* with the suffix *-ωνιον*.

The origin of *κούτρα* has been variously interpreted. K. Foy derived it from Latin *scutra* 'a flat tray, dish or platter' with misdivision of the initial *s-* and the widely attested semantic change from 'pot, cup, or vessel' to 'skull, head' (cf. CGL, V, 526, 39 : *testa caput vel vas fictile* ; Latin *cuppa* 'cup' > German *Kopf* 'head') ([125]). As I have pointed out above, G. Meyer equated *κούτρα* with *χύτρα*, a word that G. Rohlfs had originally assumed to have blended with the obscure dialectal *trufa* 'a flask-shaped jug' (Umbria : Rieti) and subsequently to have served as the origin of *κουτρούφι* and its congeners ([126]). Owing to the fact that some isolated instances of inorganic *r* are attested in certain mostly dialectal forms (e.g. *βλίτο* 'blite' > *βλίτρο* id.) ([127]), Ph. Koukoules proposed that *κούτρα* should be traced back to **κύτα*, a derivative of *κύτος* 'hollow ; occiput' with an epenthetic *r* ([128]). Needless to say, the explanation of *κούτρα* from either *χύτρα* or the hypothetical derivative of *κύτος* is phonologically untenable. M. Philentas linked *κούτρα* to the Doric gloss *κύτρα*, a variant of *κύθρα* and *χύτρα* ([129]). Although the derivation of *κούτρα* from *scutra* (cf. CGL, II, 180, 48 : *scutra χαλκίον*) with misdivision of the initial *s* is possible, the explanation of it from *κύτρα* seems to be simpler in terms of generality. It is well to point out that G. Rohlfs (s.v. *χύτρα*) has proposed *κύτρα* as the source of the North Calabrian forms *kutrun*,

(123) D. MOUTSOS, *KZ*, 89 (1975), 244-246 ; IDEM., *KZ*, 88, 75-76.
(124) DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 746 s.v. *κούτικας* ; A. KORAES, *op. cit.*, 1, 6.
(125) K. FOY, *Lautsystem der griechischen Vulgärsprache*, Leipzig, 1897, 107.
(126) G. ROHLFS, *GRU*, 152.
(127) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 29 (1917) : Suppl. 83.
(128) Cf. N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 170.
(129) M. PHILENTAS, *op. cit.*, 1, 25 ; cf. P. CHANTRAINE, *DELG*, 1255.

kutroni 'vaso di terracotta', though s. v. *κουρούπι* he is not certain on whether these forms should be linked with *κότρος* 'stone' or with *κουτρουλός*: *κουτρούλης* 'mutilated' ([130]), as I have pointed out above. G. Rohlfs has also equated *χυτρῖνος* 'deep hole from which water springs ; hot spring or geyser' with *κυθρῖνος* in order to explain *Cutranu*, a place name with a historical spring south of Taranto. The variant *χύτρος* 'earthen pot, pipkin ; hot spring' of *χύτρα* has been postulated as the source of *ćitrə*, sorgente subacquea nel Mare Piccolo, Taranto (attested in a 15th century document as *Citrus*: *quaedam piscaria ... quae vocatur Citrus*) as well as of the place names *Cetriddu*, a fresh-water spring in Mare Piccolo, *Cətrezzə*, corso d'acqua accolto dal Mare Piccolo (Taranto), and *Kitru*, a small water-course near Avertana ([131]). The anomalous reflexes *k-*, *č-* of the voiceless velar fricative [χ] (instead of the expected alveopalatal [š] or the palatal [ç] before a front vowel) ([132]) suggest that an underlying *κύθρος* is a better choice than the variant *χύτρος*. Although the interference of Latin is usually invoked to account for reflexes of this kind, it seems quite likely that *κύτρα*, *κυθρῖνος* and *κύθρος* can provide a better explanation of these forms than the corresponding variants with an initial *χ*. It should be pointed out that the diffusion of the derivatives of *κύτρα* is parallel to those of Tarentine *βυτίνα* which are widely attested in dialectal Modern Greek ([133]).

The semantic change from 'receptacle' to 'head' or 'part of the head' observed in *κούτρα* is well attested in Modern Greek ([134]). A near synonym of *κούτρα* 'head, forehead, temple' is *κούτελο* 'forehead, temple', a derivative of *κότυλον* 'small vessel, cup' (cf. *PG*, 28, 553B : *κότυλον* 'nape of the neck' ; ibid., 104, 1428B : *κούτουλος* 'with bowed head' ?) with the sporadic lowering of *upsilon* to *e* adjacent to a liquid ([135]). Derivatives of *κοτύλη* and *κότυλον* are widely attested in dialectal Modern Greek with a variety of connotations, e.g. (1) wooden cup ; 2. milk vessel used for the preparation of cheese ;

(130) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 271, 272.

(131) G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, 574, 575.

(132) Cf. G. ROHLFS, *LGII*, XVI, 575 ; IDEM., *Historische Grammatik der unteritalienischen Gräzität*, München, 1950, 73, 74.

(133) J. HUBSCHMID, *SF*, 60-62.

(134) Cf. Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5, 328.

(135) D. MOUTSOS, *IF*, 88 (1983), 173-176.

(3) wooden bowl ; (4) nape of the neck, etc. ([136]). In Crete and elsewhere the adjective *κουτούλης* came to mean 'hornless animal', cf. also *κουτλί* m. 'an animal with bent horns' Carpathos ([137]). In Pontos *κουτούλης* m. has developed the sense 'widower' and *κουτούλα* f. 'widow', connotations which originated from the old custom of cutting someone's hair as a sign of mourning (cf. the verb *κουτουλιάζω* 'cut someone's hair' Pontos) ([138]). A similar semantic change can be seen in *κουρούπης* m. 'bald' which in the Greek enclaves of Southern Italy is attested as 'shorn-headed', a derivative of *κουρούπι* 'vessel' ([139]). It should be pointed out that *κουρούπι* is a word of unclear derivation whose origin has been traced to an unattested **κορύπη* ([140]) and to Latin *coryphium* 'a kind of murex or snail, yielding a purple dye' : *κορύφιον* 'gasteropod mollusc' ([141]). As *κροταφίζω* and *κορταφίζω* 'to butt' were coined on *κρόταφος* 'temple' and *κόρταφος* id., respectively, so from *κουτούλι*, *κούτουλο* and *κούτρα* the respective synonymous verbs *κουτουλίζω*, *κουτουλάω* and *κουτρίζω*, *κουτράω* originated ([142]).

In Lesbos *κουτρούπι* 'clay-pot with or without handles' is attested in various forms, e.g. *κουτρού(μ)π'*, *κουτρουμπέλλ'*, *κουτρουμπακέλλ'*, *κουτρουμπάτσα*, etc. ([143]). In the same dialect the verb *κουτρουμπανίζω* came to mean 'tumble head foremost'. This is a parallel of common Modern Greek *κουτρουβαλίζω* 'tumble over, turn a somersault', the source of the deverbative *κουτρουβάλα* 'somersault', which N. Andriotis sought to explain from the semantically and phonologically dubious **κοττοβολῶ* 'throw the die' ([144]). It is self-evident that these verbs were coined after derivatives of the nouns *κουτρούμπι* and *κουτρούβι* with the alternating suffixes *-αλι(ον)*,

(136) K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 188, 189 ; A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 490.
(137) S. XANTHOUDIDES, *loc. cit.*
(138) A. PAPADOPOULOS, *ILPD*, 1, 490.
(139) G. ROHLFS, *LGII.*
(140) G. HATZIDAKIS, *MNE*, 2, 305 ; cf. H. and R. KAHANE, *GRSS*, 1, 735.
(141) G. MEYER, *Albanische Studien V, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 134 (1896), 89.
(142) Ph. DUCANGE, *op. cit.*, 722 ; K. AMANTOS, *op. cit.*, 187, 189 ; M. PHILENTAS, *op. cit.*, 1, 25.
(143) Ph. KOUKOULES, *Λαογραφία*, 5, 330.
(144) N. ANDRIOTIS, *ELKN*, 171.

-ανι(ον), (cf. *σάκκος* 'sack' > *σακάλιον*, CGL, III, 269, 43, *κάπρος* 'boar' > *καπράνιν*, *κόπανος* 'pestle' > *κοπάνιν* > *κοπάλιν* Pontos, a parallel formation of *γρυπάνιον* > *γρυπάλιον* 'little old man' Hesychius) ([145]). The derivation of Epirotic *κουτρουμπαλᾶς*, the modern equivalent of *μετωπίας* 'having a broad or wide forehead', from *κουτρούμπι* should be understood on similar grounds.

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(145) Cf. D. MOUTSOS, *Glotta*, 61 (1983), 95-96.

CROSSBOWS, ARROW-GUIDES, AND THE *SOLENARION*

The study of Byzantine military treatises is full of obstacles, not least in the interpretation of a terminology that is often highly specialized and resultingly obscure. Our subject, the *solenarion* (*σωληνάριον*), poses just such a problem. Several of the most prominent treatises prescribe it for archers, with most alluding to its function and one actually describing its form. Nonetheless, the *solenarion* has persistently been misidentified, most recently as a form of crossbow (1).

The *solenarion* is first mentioned towards the end of the sixth century in the twelfth book of the *Strategikon* attributed to the emperor Maurice (582-602). There it is recommended that light infantry be armed with bows and large quivers holding thirty or forty arrows, small shields, and wooden *solenaria* with small arrows (*μικρῶν σαγιττῶν*) and small quivers. The *solenaria* were said to be quite deadly, projecting their arrows a long distance with the bows (*διὰ τῶν τοξαρίων*). Those soldiers lacking bows or unable to shoot were to carry throwing-spears and slings (2).

Solenaria are subsequently mentioned in the *Taktika* and the *Problemata* of Leo VI (886-912), the anonymous mid-tenth century *Sylloge Tacticorum*, and the anonymous paraphrase of the *Strategikon* of c. 959, *cod. Ambros. gr.*, B 119 sup. (139) (3). All of these texts

(1) J. F. HALDON, "*ΣΩΛΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ*: the Byzantine Crossbow?" in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12/2 (1970), 155-57, and G. T. DENNIS, "Flies, Mice, and the Byzantine Crossbow", in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 7 (1981), 1-6. Haldon later expressed the need for heavy but unspecified qualification of his 1970 article in "Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the 6th to the 10th Centuries", in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1975), 11-48.

(2) *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G. T. Dennis, trans. E. Gamillscheg (Vienna: 1981; *CFHB*, XVII, series Vindobonensis), p. 422 (12, B, 5).

(3) *Leonis Tacticae Constitutiones*, in *PG*, 107, cols. 717 and 728 (5, 4 and 6, 26). *Leo VI Problemata*, ed. A. Dain (Paris, 1935), p. 77 (12, 8). *Sylloge Tacticorum*, ed. A. Dain (Paris, 1938), p. 60 (38, 8-9), and also as *Leonis Philosophi Appendix*, in *PG*, 107, col. 1104. For the Ambrosiana paraphrase, see DENNIS, 1981, 2 and n. 8.

depend to a greater or lesser extent on the *Strategikon*, but the repeated mentions of the *solenarion* seem to reflect continuing usage rather than an archaicism retained for literary effect. This is particularly apparent in the *Sylloge* and the Ambrosiana paraphrase, which describe *solenaria* and their use in considerably more detail than the other texts. The *Sylloge* notes that the *solenaria*'s small arrows (*μικροὶ ὀϊστοί*) were "useful in battle, because they may be sent very far by the bows (*διὰ τῶν τοξῶν*), and because they are invisible to the enemy due to their shortness and great speed, and finally, because these projectiles (*βέλη*) are not useful to the enemy due to [his] inexperience" (4). The Ambrosiana text calls for "pieces of wood hollowed out to the same size as the arrows, fashioned like a reed split down the middle. [The light infantry] are to use these to fire (sic) arrows (*μικρὰς σαγίττας*) of the type called "mice" (*μύας*), which can be shot from the bows (*διὰ τῶν τοξαρίων*) to a great distance" (5).

Let us now review the evidence. All the treatises describe the *solenarion* as an archer's accessory, used in conjunction with a bow to shoot short arrows. There is no hint of the crossbow's elaborate lock mechanism or of its short, heavy bow ; indeed, there is no indication that any bow was used save for the archer's normal hand-bow (6). The obvious conclusion is that the *solenarion* was simply the "tube" or "channel" its name suggests, a hollow piece of wood that enabled short arrows to be shot from a fully-drawn bow ; in modern parlance, an arrow-guide. Although it seems to have passed unnoticed, this identification was published over forty-five years ago in Kalervo

(4) The last clause of this passage (*ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ χρησιμεύουσι ταῦτα τὰ βέλη δι' ἀπειρίαν*) has previously been misread as "the enemy are rendered helpless through their inexperience" (Haldon, 1970, 156, cited in Dennis, 1981, 2).

(5) Text and translation from Dennis, 1981, 2 and n. 8, with the substitution of "split" for "cut in two" to translate *ἐσχισμένος*.

(6) Without exception, the treatises state that the archers used the *solenaria* to shoot the small arrows with "the bows". If the *solenaria* had had bows of their own district from the archers' regular bows, this surely would have been noted by an appropriate possessive and not by the simple definite article actually used. Note, too, that the *Sylloge*'s *καὶ νευρὰς ἀνὰ δύο καὶ σωληνάρια ξύλινα* refers to two [spare] strings for the bow, and not to "cords over two wooden *solenaria*", as rendered in Haldon, 1970, 155. Dennis' translation is equally misleading in transposing the list so that the strings appear after the *solenaria*, implying an association contraindicated by the original text : Dennis, 1981, 2.

Huuri's much neglected "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens" ([7]).

The *solenarion* offered the Byzantine archer many advantages at low cost and with minimal encumbrance. The lightness of the short arrows (which we shall henceforth term "darts", in accordance with the nomenclature of their Islamic counterparts) would have provided a higher initial velocity, while short-range penetration must have been somewhat enhanced by the darts' greater stiffness and their resistance to shattering and deflection. The chief advantage would have been at long range, however, where their aerodynamic superiority gained full effect. This is borne out by the treatises, which repeatedly mention extraordinary range and speed, not penetration. Their ability to surprise is also mentioned, and should not be underestimated : a lightly-armored soldier with his shield down was vulnerable indeed. The elusiveness of these small, fast projectiles might well have led to their name of "mice". These benefits were not bought at the expense of flexibility, however, for darts could still have been shot rapidly and on the move, while at a moment's notice the arrow-guide could be set aside and regular arrows used for faster, closer shooting. Finally, arrow-guides and darts meant more ammunition with less bulk, and, facing guideless opponents, missiles that the enemy could not pick up and shoot back. This is what the *Sylloge* means in saying, "these projectiles are not useful to the enemy due to [his] inexperience".

Was the arrow-tube a Byzantine invention ? Huuri averred that its use went back to the seventh century among Greeks, Persians, and Arabs alike, but this earliest non-Greek references date only to the eighth century and generally only mention the darts, the Arabic *ḥusbān*. Mentions of the "ball-bow" (Arabic *qaws al-bunduq* ; Persian *kamān-i ogulūlah*) in Persia and Spain do date a century earlier, but these could also represent either pellet-crossbows or pellet-bows with a pouch on a double bowstring rather than regular bows with accessory tubes ([8]). The "dart-bow" (Arabic *qaws al-ḥusbān, qaws murakkabah*

(7) K. HUURI, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens", in *Societas Orientalia Fennica, Studia Orientalia*, 9/3 (Helsinki, 1941).

(8) Various origins for the Arab arrow-guide have been proposed, all largely speculative. Huuri's survey (pp. 104-7) has not been superseded by the brief summary in J. D. LATHAM and W. F. PATERSON's *Saracen Archery* (London, 1970), p. 148. For the pellet-bow, see G. C. STONE, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor* (Portland, Me., 1034) "Pellet Bow", p. 492. For the *qaws al-bunduq* as a crossbow, see *Saracen Archery*, pp. 8, 19.

'alā l-majrā ; Persian kamān-i tahš) is mentioned only later ; whether this was a special bow or simply one being used with a guide is unknown. The arrow-guide itself, the "channel" or "tube" (Arabic *majrā, mijrāt,* or *qaṣab* ; Persian *nāwak*) appears in the texts still later, and is not specifically described until the twelfth century (9).

In any event, Maurice's *Strategikon* appears to be our earliest certain record of an arrow-guide, although priority elsewhere cannot be totally ruled out. Still, a compelling case has been made in recent years for seeing the Byzantines and not the Persians or Arabs as the dominant force for innovation in sixth and seventh-century Mediterranean archery. Admittedly, much of this innovation was imitative – horse-archery, stirrups, and the thumb-lock were adopted from the Huns and Avars – but innovation it was, and a decisive break with Roman tradition. The Persians and Arabs appear not to have made such a break until later, whereupon the Byzantine army served as their model (10). The ultimate source in this picture, of course, is Central Asia, and if – as seems likely – the Byzantines introduced the arrow-tube to the Mediterranean, the Byzantines may in turn have taken it from the steppes. Th arrow-guide seems a rather clumsy and unnecessary accessory for nomadic horse-archers, however, and no record of its use has been noted in China or its neighbors. Korea is the one exception, but much more work needs to be done before the history of Korean archery becomes clear. Interestingly enough, the Korean arrow-guide, the *sal-tong* ("arrow-tube"), was carried by foot and horse-archers alike ; if it was actually used form horseback is not yet known (11).

(9) HUURI, pp. 105, 107.

(10) A. BIVAR, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates' Frontier", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 271-291, esp. 283-86, 290-91. For the transfer of military technology in later centuries, see T. T. KOLIAS, "The *Taktika* of Leo the Wise and the Arabs", in *Graeco-Arabica*, 3 (1984), 129-35.

(11) For the Korean arrow-guide, see D. ELMY, "Korean Archery Accessories", in *Society of Archer-Antiquaries Journal*, 22 (1979), 9-10, and "Korean Mounted Archery", 27 (1984), 48 ; vital information on dating is lacking, but there remains much material that has yet to be properly studied or published. Mughal India also used the arrow-guide, introduced through Persia. It was called a *nāwak* and *nao* seem to have been its darts. The situation is rather confused, however, and surviving *nao* have been identified as crossbow bolts without comment on their nocks and smallish heads : G. PANT, *Studies in Indian Weapons and warfare* (New Delhi, 1970), p. 48 ; *Indian Arms and Armour* (New Delhi , 1978), I, p. 107, pls. LXXIV, LXXVII, LXXVIII.

The Byzantine treatises tell us next to nothing about how the *solenarion* was used, but a comparative study of Arab and Korean practices can help fill in the picture. The Arabic material is the most comprehensive, starting with an exacting description of an arrow-guide of advanced design in the late twelfth-century *Taḥsirah arbāb al-albāb*, a treatise on arms written by Marḍī ibn 'Alī ṭ-Ṭarsūsī for Saladin ([12]). Several other guides appear in the manual of Ṭaybughā 'l-Baklamishī al-Yūnānī of c. 1368, published with invaluable commentary by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson under the title *Saracen Archery*, and a thorough treatment of darts and techniques appears in the treatise of c. 1500 published by N. Faris and R. Elmer as *Arab Archery* ([13]). These treatises nicely confirm their Byzantine precursors in noting the benefits of darts and guides, including longer range, missiles that are faster and hard to spot and dodge, missiles that an unequipped enemy cannot reuse, and the ability to carry more ammunition in less space ([14]). The Arab arrow-guid was primarily for warfare, and must have fallen out of use with the decline of Islamic military archery ([15]). The Korean arrow-guide was still in use at the end of the last century ([16]).

The Ambrosiana text says the *solenarion* was "like a reed split down the middle". Two different reconstructions are possible. In one, the guide is a tube with slots at top and bottom that run from its rear to within a few inches of its front (fig. 1A). In the other, the guide is a

(12) A. BOUDOT-LAMOTTE, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane* (Damascus, 1968), publishes the sections pertaining to the handbow, with commentary ; C. CAHEN, "Un traité composé pour Saladin", in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*, 12 (1947-48), 103-63, publishes selected extracts, including the description of the *majrā* (translation 132-33, commentary 153-54).

(13) *Saracen Archery* (see above, n. 8) ; N. A. PARIS and R. P. ELMER, *Arab Archery* (Princeton, 1945).

(14) *Saracen Archery*, p. 145 ; CAHEN, 132-33, 153-54.

(15) The *majrā* is mentioned as a flight (distance) shooting accessory in the fourteenth century (*Saracen Archery*, p. 105), but it seems to have been entirely superseded by the *siper*, an extended arrow-rest attached to the wrist, which allowed use of a short arrow without the added friction of a full-length tube or channel. Arrow-guides would be unsuitable for hunting : the enhanced range would be superfluous, while the reduced rate of fire and the inability to use arrowheads of sufficient breadth to assure a clean kill would be serious handicaps.

(16) W. HOUGH, "Korean Crossbow and Arrow-tube", in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. 1/1 (Jan. 1899), 200.

channel, which can be undercut so as to leave the opening wider than the arrow's shaft but narrower than its head (fig. 1B). The first design would have been held alongside the bow with the bowstring passing through the slots and bearing upon the rear of the dart within. The second would differ in requiring a nocked dart, whose head would have ridden in the hollowed channel while its shaft angled out to engage the bowstring running alongside the slot. The Arabs used variants of both types, while the Koreans used the simple form of the second ([17]).

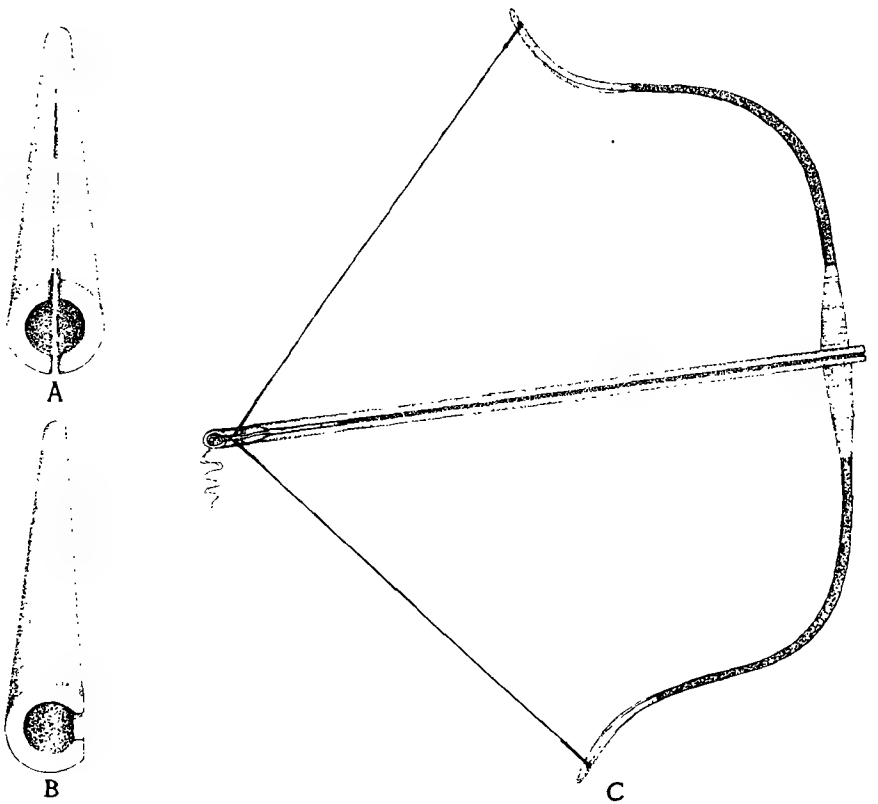

FIG. 1. — Arrow Guides.
A. Tube Guide (schematic) ; B. Channel Guide (schematic) ;
C. Bow, Channel Guide and Dart.

(17) *Saracen Archery*, pp. 145-47, 149-51, figs. 49-53, pl. 17 ; *Arab Archery*, p. 126 ; CAHEN, 132-33, 154-54 ; HOUGH, 200.

Whatever its form, the *solenarion* undoubtedly resembled its Arab and Korean equivalents in having some provision for being steadied upon release. This was usually a cord attached to the rear of the guide and held in the fingers of the right hand, although it could also be tied to a finger-ring or to the wrist. In shooting, Arabs and Koreans alike placed the dart in the guide, took hold of the guide's cord, and then drew both dart and guide back along with the bowstring ([18]). Byzantine practice was probably the same, since holding the guide fixed and drawing the bowstring through it would necessitate loading the guide from the front and then coaxing the dart backwards, following the string ; then, at full draw, the right hand would bave to catch hold of the guide's cord before loosing the dart. This would be extremely awkward with a tube-guide, and would effectively preclude the use of fletched projectiles ; with a channel-guide it would be more practical (for a dart-bow with a fixed guide a front-loaded channel would be mandatory), but rear-loading would clearly remain preferable.

The Greek sources provide little direct information about the *solenarion*'s darts. The *Sylloge* and the Ambrosiana paraphrase note their nickname, "mice" (*μύαι*), and Haldon and Dennis have identified them with the "flies" and "mice" (the homonymous *μυῖαι* and *μύαι*) shot from contemporary shipborne catapults. More useful, however, is Paul of Aegina's seventh-century description of small arrows between one and three fingers in length, the smallest of which were called "mice" (*μυωτά*) by the Egyptians ([19]). Interestingly enough, the earliest Arabic darts to be specifically described were also very short, from tip to feathers only as long as the little finger, permitting them to be stacked in an arrow-guide and shot four or five at a time ([20]). The Greek sources make no specific mention of this practice, but nor do they rule it out as a possibility.

(18) *Saracen Archery*, pp. 145-51 ; *Arab Archery*, pp. 126-27, 130, 175-76 ; CAHEN, 132-33, 153-54 ; HOUGH, 200.

(19) The *Sylloge* reads *μέναϛ*, but Dennis is undoubtedly correct in seeing this as a scribal error for either *μύαϛ* or *μυίαϛ* : DENNIS, 1981, 4. For the naval *μυῖαι*, see *Leonis Tacticae Constitutiones*, in *PG*, 107, col. 1008 (19, 52) ; and its independently copied paraphrase, the *Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain (Paris, 1943), p. 30 (1, 60). For the *μυωτά*, see *Paulus Aegineta*, ed. I. Heiberg, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, 9, 2 (Leipzig, 1924), p. 129 (6, 88).

(20) The *ḥusbān*, as described in the twelfth century *Tabṣirah* : CAHEN, 132-33, 153, n. 15. In the later treatises, the *ḥusbān* is defined as a large dart of around two spans ; see below, n. 21.

The Arabic treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries describe a greater variety of darts falling into several classes, ranging in size from one-third of a span to two spans, about 6.5 to 38 cm. Nearly all of these are fletched (the feathers compressed to fit in the tube and sprung back on launch), and fletching is also recommended for the one type mentioned as being able to fly unfletched ([21]). There is no explicit mention of shooting the small darts in salvo, but this may reflect a need for greater penetration, as the heavier armor adopted in the wake of the Crusades would have rendered the smaller darts less effective. Consistent with this, these treatises also strongly favor large darts : the optimum was said to be about two spans long, with a heavy head and a thick shaft of hard, heavy wood. Its weight was around 480 grains (31 grams), which Latham and Paterson have estimated as only some 100 grains (6.5 grams) lighter than a long arrow for the same bow. The Korean darts seem to have been quite similar, though perhaps still lighter ([22]). Modern experiments with reconstructed arrow-guides have demonstrated the high launch speed and flat trajectory of the larger darts, and their effective range against massed targets has been estimated at some 400 yards (366 meters) ([23]). This may be too conservative, however, in light of similar estimates for the range of light full-length war arrows ([24]). No trials with shorter darts have been published, but one would expect denser, less elongated projectiles to be still more efficient.

The Arab darts offer useful comparisons, but there remains the intriguing possibility that Byzantine darts did not resemble the arrow-

(21) *Saracen Archery*, pp. 28, 29, 149 ; *Arab Archery*, pp. 124-31.

(22) *Saracen Archery*, p. 149 ; *Arab Archery*, pp. 129-30. According to ELMY (see above, n. 11), the Korean dart, called *pyun-chun* or *hypyen-tiyen*, was about 18 in. (45.7 cm) long and 1/4 in. (.64 cm) in diameter, with three cropped flights of 5 to 7 in. (12.7 to 17.8 cm) and a thin conical pile.

(23) No Middle Eastern arrow-guide is known to have survived, but a Korean guide exists in Manchester ; the most effective reconstructed guide noted by Latham and Paterson was 31 inches (78.7 cm) long with a channel 1/2 inch (1.27 cm) wide and 1/4 inch (.635 cm) deep : *Saracen Archery*, pp. 29, 149, 151, pl. 17. Faris and Elmer's best was 30 inches (76.2 cm) long and 3/4 inch (1.9 cm) wide, with a squared 3/8 inch (.95 cm) channel : *Arab Archery*, p. 176.

(24) Latham and Paterson note that full-sized light hunting arrows have been sent over 300 yards (274 m) with a 50lb. (22,7 kg) replica of a Turkish flight bow, and extrapolates historical ranges for harassing barrages out to 400 yards (366 m) : *Saracen Archery*, p. 109.

like darts of the Arabs and Koreans so much as certain late Roman catapult bolts (fig. 2, A-C), which their identification with the catapult-launched "mice" of the tenth century indirectly suggests. Late Roman artillery design was followed and built upon by the Byzantines throughout the period under consideration, and it stands to reason that projectile design enjoyed a similar continuity. Windtunnel tests have indicated that the best of the late Roman bolts were significantly superior to any fletched projectile, yielding an estimated maximum range well in excess of 500 meters with an initial velocity of 80 meters per second ([25]). Their weight of around 30 grams would be suitable

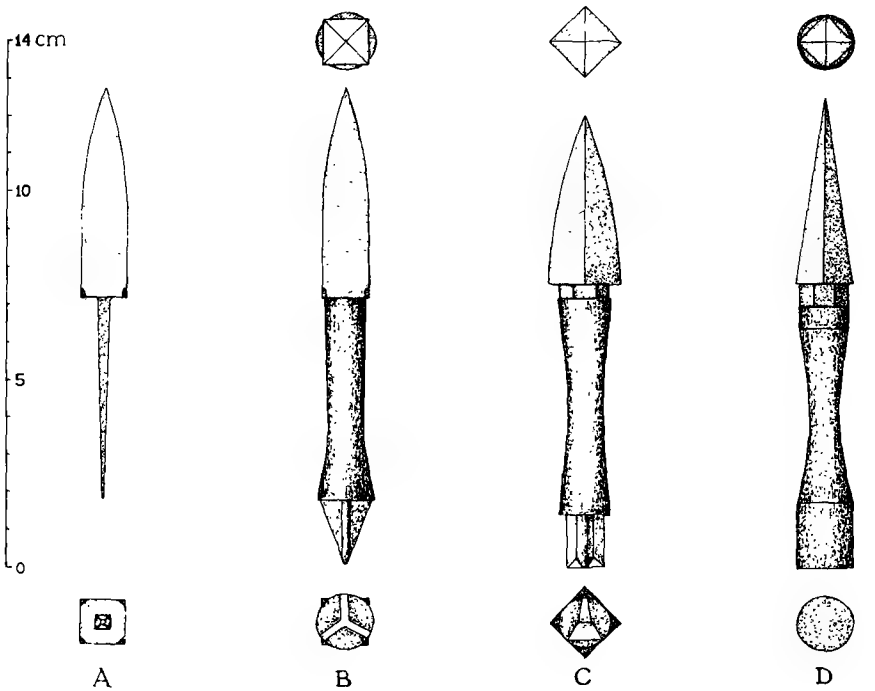

FIG. 2. — Roman catapult bolts.
A. Bolt from Haltern : Iron head ; B. Bolt from Haltern : with wooden shaft ;
C. Bolt from Vindonissa (Windisch) ;
D. Roman-style bolt tested by Foley, Palmer and Soedel (scale approximate).

(25) V. FOLEY, G. PALMER, and W. SOEDEL, "The Crossbow", in *Scientific American* 252/1 (Jan. 1985), 104-110. This article is noteworthy only for its wind tunnel test results, which, however, the authors urge be taken with caution, as the sensitivity of their equipment was marginal for the smaller projectiles. Field tests are clearly in order.

for use with a hand-bow, and their caliber – under 1.8 cm – modest enough not to require an unreasonably bulky guide. They could even have been used with a channel-guide, using a string-mounted nock like that recommended in *Arab Archery* for shooting nockless iron needles ([26]). It is possible that their accuracy and stability would have been less than satisfactory, however, but the constraints of urban life have so far prevented any experiments of my own.

What, then, of the Byzantine crossbow ? Anna Komnena's famous description of the Frankish crossbow (the *τζάγγρα*) as "a barbarian bow, entirely unknown to Greeks" now seems essentially correct ([27]). True, there are the *cheirotoxobolístrai* and *toxobolístrai* mentioned in various ninth and tenth-century sources, which seem to have resembled crossbows in construction ([28]). Nevertheless, these were artillery engines, not portable crossbows : they are never mentioned among the infantry, but only in emplacements, whether in fortifications, ships, or wagons. Their terminology confirms this : the prefix *cheiro-* (hand) denoted a weapon operable by one man but heavy enough to require

(26) Ancient artillery saw major changes from the first century A.D. on, first in the adoption of all-metal frames, then in the switch to smaller projectiles : D. BAATZ and M. FEUGÈRE, "Éléments d'une catapulte romaine trouvée à Lyon", in *Gallia*, 39/2 (1981), 208 ; BAATZ, "Recent Finds of Ancient Artillery", in *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 1-18 ; BAATZ, "Zur Geschutzbewaffnung römischer Auxiliartruppen in der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit", in *Bonner Jahrbuch*, 166 (1966), 203-6, fig. 1 ; H. PETRIKOVITS, "Eine Pilumspitze von der Grotenburg bei Detmold", in *Germania*, 29/3-4 (1951), 206-8, Abb. 5. For the iron needles and detachable nock, see *Arab Archery*, pp. 130-31. The needles were like large darts, and were fletched.

(27) ANNE COMNÈNE, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1943), II, p. 217 (10, 8) : *ἡ δὲ τζάγγρα τόξον μέν ἐστι βαρβαρικὸν καὶ Ἕλλησι παντελῶς ἀγνοούμενον.* The subsequent passage describing the *τζάγγρα* has been rendered into satisfactory Latin and French, but most English-speaking scholars still cite the grossly misleading Dawes translation : "in the middle of the string is a socket, a cylindrical kind of cup fitted to the string itself" (*The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*, trans. E. Dawes (London, 1928), pp. 255-56). A better reading would be : "in the middle of the string is a channel like a bisected cylinder cut away by the string itself".

(28) For mention of *toxobolístrai* (or *-ballístrai*) of various types, see THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883-85), p. 589 (A.D. 706) ; THEOPHANIS CONTINUATI, *De Basilio Macedone*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 289 (5, 59) ; LEONIS, *Tacticae Constitutiones*, in *PG*, 107, col. 1008 (19, 52) ; CONSTANTINI PORPHYROGENITI, *De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), I, pp. 669-73, 676 (2, 45) ; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, eds. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967), pp. 258-61 (53).

two men to carry and a rigid support to shoot, while the suffix *-bolístra* was consistently and exclusively reserved for artillery ([29]).

Our earliest Byzantine referencs to crossbows thus date only to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These include Anna Komnena's mid-twelfth-century account of a late eleventh-century event, noted above ; a recommendation to emplace *τζάγρας* on fortress walls in the *Strategikon* attributed to Kekaumenos, datable to c. 1075-78 ; and an exhortation to make good use of *τῶν τοζοβολιστρῶν ἤτοι τῶν τζαρχῶν* in the *Parecbolae* attributed to Polyaenus, whose earliest texts have been dated to c. 1020-25 ([30]). These writers and their successors invariably used some variation of the foreign loan-word *τζάγγρα*, previously unknown in Greek usage ; the label *-βολίστρα* is notably absent, either as synonym or comparison. A new and strange name was only appropriate for a strange new weapon ([31]).

(29) For the *cheiroballistra*, see E. MARSDEN, *Greek and Roman Artillery : Technical Treatises* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 206-33, along with A. DRACHMANN's review in *Technology and Culture*, 13 (1972), 492-3 and D. BATZ's comments in "Recent Finds in Ancient Artillery", in *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 14-16. The last two correct Marsden's reconstruction, making the *cheiroballistra* more compact, less powerful, and hence able to be drawn without a windlass ; nevertheless, it was still too large to be truly portable. Baatz also notes that while Marsden accepts the *Cheiroballistra* text's traditional attribution to Heron, it has long been shown to be of late Roman or early Byzantine date (SCHNEIDER, "Heron's Cheroballistra", in *Römische Mitteilungen*, 21 (1906), 167-68). In any case, Heron's treatise on artillery, with the added chapter on the *cheiroballistra*, continued to copied and read throughout the middle Byzantine period without any apparent need to update either its technology or its terminology.

(30) For Kekaumenos, see G. LITAVRIN, *Soviety i Rasskazy Kekavmena*, Moscow, 1972), p. 178, with Russian translation. The *Strategikon* survives in but one fourteenth or fifteenth-century copy, so we cannot be absolutely certain that it is free from later accretions and paraphrase ; for the date and background of the text, see P. LEMERLE, "Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des 'Conseils et Récits' de Kekaumenos", in *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 54 (1959), 3, 20. For the *Parecbolae*, see POLYAENUS, *Strategemata*, ed. J. de Foucault (Paris, 1949), p. 112 (44, 16). The date of composition is unknown, but the two earliest texts are *Scorialensis*, Y-III-11 and *Vat. Barb. gr.*, 276 ; Dennis states the former is probaly earlier than the mid-eleventh century, the latter c. 1020-25 : *Strategikon*, 1981, p. 21, n. 16. Both MSS. were placed in the mid-eleventh century by de Foucault (pp. 11, 71).

(31) The medieval West saw the crossbow as a portable ballista ; Byzantium, however, saw it as a type of bow. The lack of overlap between *τζάγγρα* and *-βολίστρα* is marked and lasting : HUURI, pp. 71-72, 74.

The misidentification of the *solenarion* excepted, the general view has been that the crossbow was introduced to Byzantium from the West. The accounts of *arcoballistae* in use at Senlis in 949 and Verdun in 984 are well-known, and in the *Alexiad* the crossbow's dramatic entrance is in Frankish hands ([32]). This has been argued etymologically as well, Henri Grégoire asserting that *τζάγγρα* was the medieval French *chancre*, from the resemblance of the unstrung crossbow's lath to a crab's pincers ([33]). As plausible as this sounds, however, there is not a single corroborative record of crossbows ever being called *chancres*, anywhere. More recently Claude Cahen proposed an Eastern etymology, noting that crossbows appeared in central Asia by the eight century. Cahen derives *τζάγγρα* (and especially its variant, *τζάρχ*) from *charkh*, a Persian term for a crossbow current at the time of the Crusades and possibly traceable back to c. 1000 ([34]). While the distance between *τζάρχ* and *τζάγγρα* remains uncomfortably large, Cahen's theory is compelling on several counts, not least in its ability to explain the *Parecbolae*'s exceptional use of *τζαρχῶν* instead of *τζαγγρῶν* without recourse to claims of textual corruption ([35]). An Eastern etymology could also be reconciled with the *Alexiad*'s description of the crossbow as a barbarian bow, reading "barbarian" as Muslim and not Latin ([36]). Of course, this would imply that crossbows

(32) For Senlis and Verdun, see HALDON, 1970, 157, n. 10. The crossbow may well have remained in continuous, if limited, use in the West from Roman times : *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntze (Oxford, 1972), Appendix C, pp. 113-14 ; A. G. CREDLAND, "Crossbow Remains", in *Society of Archer-Antiquaries Journal*, 23 (1983), 12-19, pl. 1, discusses a fragmentary seventh or eighth-century example, now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.

(33) H. GRÉGOIRE, "Notes sur Anne Comnène", in *Byzantion*, 3 (1926), 311-17 ; elaborated upon by J. STAQUET, "Anne Comnène. Alexiade, X, 8 : *Ἡ τζάγγρα· τόξον βαρβαρικόν*", in *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 505-12.

(34) C. CAHEN, "Les changements techniques militaires dans le Proche Orient médiéval et leur importance historique", in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds. V. Parry and M. Yapp (London, 1975), pp. 118, 123-24.

(35) For *τζαρχῶν* as corrupt : C. DUCANGE, "*Τζάγγρα*", in *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (1688 ; repr. Graz , 1958), col. 1558 ; followed by Dennis, 1981, 3. Huuri, p. 72, suggested that *τζάγγρα* came from Old Persian *zanga* or *zangra*. This proposal seems to have attracted no subsequent comments, but if true might explain the existence of both *τζάγγρα* and *τζάρχ*.

(36) The *τζάγγρα* was later called a "Latin bow" by John Kantakuzenos (153, 252C) ; this may reflect the implication of the *Alexiad* passage, or perhaps the great popularity of the crossbow in the West.

were already known to the Byzantines by the time of the *Alexiad*, but Anna's *"Ελλησι παντελῶς ἀγνοούμενον* "entirely unknown to Greeks") need not immediately be dismissed as uninformed. After all, the main subject of this passage is Marianos and his band ; the parenthetical *ekphrasis* of the crossbow is included to emphasize their bravery by amplifying the diabolical fearsomeness of their Frankish opponents. Given this context, Anna's description ought to be seen as rhetorical exaggeration, not ignorance. The Byzantines may have begun to make occasional use of the crossbow, but that didn't mean that it could not still be denounced as "un-Greek".

The *solenarion* has been reidentified, Anna Komnena's erudition defended, and the crossbow returned to the barbarians. In concluding, let us consider that even without its high cost and complexity, the crossbow would have been a singularly inappropriate weapon for the early and middle Byzantine infantry – at least prior to the advent of the Crusades. The crossbow's utility in fortified emplacements was universal, but its use in the field was an outgrowth of a peculiarly Western mode of warfare in which the battlefield was dominated by the charges of a relatively small number of very heavily-armored horsemen. There the crossbow's accuracy and penetration compensated for its bulkiness, slow rate of fire, and inability to be aimed at long range ([37]). Eastern warfare, however, was characterized by skirmish and maneuver ; armor was lighter, troops more mobile, and no one corps predominated. Versatility, speed, and range were more valuable than the ability to penetrate heavy armor and pick off elites, and so the hand-bow remained the weapon of choice ([38]).

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(37) The advantages and disadvantages of crossbows are neatly summarized in *Saracen Archery*, p. XXXII. Latham and Paterson estimate that early crossbows could only be aimed out to eighty-odd years, beyond which the raised tiller obstructed the target from view. On the influence of the Crusaders, see R. P. LINDNER, "An Impact of the West on Comnenian Anatolia", in *Acts of the XVI International Byzantine Congress, Vienna, Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/3 (1982), 207-13.

(38) J. F. VERBRUGGEN, *The Art of War during the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1977), pp. 62-64. The crossbow was widely used in Islamic world, since its accuracy and penetration were often useful ; nevertheless, on the battlefield the prime projectile weapon incontestably remained the hand-bow, even until well after the advent of musketry : *Saracen Archery*, pp. XXIV, 8-9, 197, n. 10.

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UN ANONIMO *EXCERPTUM VATICANUM* DI SINONIMI GRECI

Sotto il titolo *Περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* il codice *Vat. gr.* 2226 (= V) del XIV sec. ([1]) ci ha conservato nei ff. 192-193^{v} una raccolta anonima di sinonimi greci : sono 58 articoli relativi a differenze di significato fra parole comincianti con la lettera *α*.

Il lessico inizia in testa al foglio 192, col titolo in inchiostro rosso come la prima lettera di ciascun lemma, e termina a metà del f. 193^{v}, lasciando incompiuta la gl. 58 (scritta in inchiostro rosso) e bianco il resto del foglio : forse lo scriba aveva in animo di riprendere in séguito il lavoro. La scrittura è una minuscola letteraria, con spiriti e accenti normalmente segnati e uniti se posti sulla medesima vocale. Chiara nel resto, la grafia presenta molte abbreviazioni e compendi, per sospensione e troncamento, non solo di desinenze e terminazioni, ma anche di lunghe parti delle parole, che talvolta è difficile sciogliere in modo univoco e sicuro. La *media distinctio* separa le proposizioni nel periodo e, talora, i singoli vocaboli, specialmente nel lemma ; raro è l'uso della virgola ; la fine e l'inizio delle glosse sono segnati dai nostri due punti. Le linee di scrittura (35 nei ff. 192^{r}, 34 nel f. 193 e nel 14 nel f. 193^{v}) si snodano regolari e uniformi su una sola colonna

(1) Ampia ed accurata descrizione del codice ha dato di recente il Lilla : *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 2162-2254* (*Codices Columnenses*) recensuit S. LILLA, in Bibliotheca Vaticana [Roma], 1985, pp. 296-305. Si tratta di un codice miscellaneo che comprende per lo più opere grammaticali : cartaceo, di ff. 309, formato cm 22,7 × 15,4, scritto da diverse mani (il Lilla ne ha distinto 15) nel XIV secolo. La mano che ha vergato il nostro frammento è la sesta ; lo stesso copista ha scritto, fra l'altro, i ff. 98-199, contenenti il *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* di Arpocrazione (ff. 98-147^{v}), l'*ecloga* di Frinico (ff. 158^{v}-166), il *De syntaxi* di Michele Sincello (ff. 170-190^{v}) e l'opuscolo sulle enclitiche di Giovanni Carace (ff. 190^{v}-191^{v}), a cui seguono il nostro lessico e poi altri scritti grammaticali, come un estratto sulle preposizioni dal *de syntaxi* di Michele Sincello (ff. 194-196) e una raccolta di etimologie (ff. 197-199), ecc. Il Lilla indica il nostro *excerptum* come '<Lexicon synonymorum graecorum>' (*op. cit.*, p. 300) : *Περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων, De vocabulorum differentiis.*

per tutta la pagina. Se la glossa comincia a inizio di riga, la prima lettera della voce lemmatizzata è in *ecthesis*. Si notano alcune correzioni ad opera della stessa mano : gl. 21 *δοκῶν* in *δόκον*, gl. 22 lin. 84 *ἅμα* in *ὁμοῦ*.

Il titolo e, soprattutto, la struttura delle glosse avvicinano questo lessico sinonimico e quello pubblicato dal Heylbut (2) ; se ne distingue, però, per il contenuto e per l'ordine alfabetico più rigoroso : si sa che nel 'Ptolemaeus' heylbutiano le glosse sono disposte con un notevole disordine. La caratteristica proposizione introduttiva nei lemmi, propria dei lessici sinonimici greci (*x καί / τοῦ y διαφέρει*), si incontra poche volte (gl. 3, 28, 31, 36 e 39) come nel 'Ptolemaeus' ; essa è sostituita di norma dai sinonimi che vengono spiegati nelle singole glosse, separati da virgola (gl. 1, 7, 18, 19, 20, ecc.) o congiunti da *καί* (solo gl. 2 e 40) ; oppure è lemmatizzato uno solo dei sinonimi (gl. 5, 6, 15, 42) ; talvolta il lemma, se costituito da un vocabolo che cambia significato col mutar dell'accento, reca il duplice accento (gl. 57 *ἁρπάγή*). Qualche lemma, così com'è tramandato, non sembra sostenibile (gl. 10, 21, 55) ; una volta (gl. 51) è stato erroneamente omesso : la glossa senza il lemma non sarebbe comprensibile ; la gl. 15 ripete il primo termine lemmatizzato alla gl. 7, ma la spiegazione è diversa. Le glosse, però, di solito, iniziano direttamente spiegando i sinonimi, come fanno di norma il 'Ptolemaeus' e l'autore del lessico pubblicato dal Boissonade (3) (gl. 4, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, ecc.).

Il valore delle glosse è disuguale e l'estensione dei singoli articoli è varia : si va da distinzioni semplici e secche (gl. 1, 5, 11, 14, ecc.) a differenze motivate da citazioni (gl. 3, 4, 19, 56, ecc.), delle quali la più ricca è la gl. 22, o sorrette dalla dottrina degli antichi : Aristòsseno per la gl. 8, Pàmfilo e Filòsseno per la gl. 23. Le citazioni si rivelano tutte di derivazione lessicale. Nella gl. 23 c'è la duplice citazione di Pàmfilo e di Filòsseno, che si legge anche in anon. Par. 16 Palm. e in anon. synag. 15 = 136, 15 Boiss. : i tre lessici, quindi, rappresentano un ramo della tradizione delle raccolte di sinonimi

(2) G. HEYLBUT, Ptolemaeus *Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων*, in *Hermes*, XXII (1887), pp. 388-410.

(3) J. Fr. BOISSONADE, Lexique de synonymes grecs, publié d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale *(ms. gr. n° 2552, olim 3233)*, in *Notices et extraits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, XIII, 2 (1889), pp. 133-161.

greci molto simile. Inoltre il contenuto e la struttura della gl. 52 sono simili a Sym. 108, anon. synag. 37 = 139, 9 Boiss. e anon. Par. 38 Palm. : l'autore, però, ha omesso deliberatamente una parte della glossa con le parole *ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον εἰς τὸν Εὐστάθιον* (4), per adeguarne il testo, nella sua tecnica di compilatore, alle sue esigenze. Di ciò scopriamo un'altra prova nella gl. 47, dove l'autore aggiunge di suo — *unicus testis*, ch'io sappia — *ἐν ἄλλῳ τούναντίον*. Orbene, poiché allo stato delle nostre conoscenze la spiegazione dei due verbi *ἀπολογίζεσθαι* e *ἀπολογεῖσθαι* (gl. 47) risulta erroneamente invertita solo, ma in tutti i codici a noi noti del 'Ptolemaeus' heylbutiano (Ptol. 389, 16 Heylb.), è da credere che il nostro compilatore, il quale attingeva da più lessici, doveva avere sotto gli occhi anche un esemplare di quel lessico. Non si comprende perché poi egli non abbia rilevato né annotato l'errore evidente, se non si vuol pensare che egli non conoscesse bene il greco.

Queste considerazioni provano che l'autore dell' *excerptum Vaticanum* seguì per lo più nella struttura delle glosse lo schema semplificato del 'Ptolemaeus' e dell'anonima *synagoge* èdita dal Boissonade, ma nella sostanza si mantenne più aderente al testo tramandato da Simeone, dall'anon. Par. (5) e dalla stessa raccolta del Boissonade. Al medesimo risultato conduce l'esame delle *variantes lectiones*, com'è documentato dal mio apparato ; qui basti solo qualche esempio. A gl. 19 Hom., *Il.*, III, 103 ... *ἕτερον* (*-ος* Sym.) *δὲ μέλανα* Sym. V anon. Par. anon. synag. *vs ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν* Hom. codd., a gl. 32 *ἀνοκωχή* Sym. V *vs ἀνακωχή* Amm. (recte) ; a gl. 30 *ἀφιερούμενον* Sym. V *vs ἀνιερούμενον* Herenn. alii ; a gl. 28 *στρατήγιον* Sym. V anon. Par. anon. synag. *vs στρατηγεῖον* Amm. ; a gl. 43 *προσήλυτος* Sym. V anon. Par. anon. synag. Amm. codd. *vs. προσβλητὸς* Ptol. codd. (recte) *vs προσθέτους* Herenn. alii ; *ibid. ἀδιαφόρως* Amm. Ptol. (recte) *vs διαφόρως* Sym. codd. anon. synag. cod. (corr. Boiss.) *vs διαφόροις* V, ecc. La presenza di errori in V, che sono assenti dal 'Ptolemaeus', nonostante l'annotazione della gl. 47, si può spiegare forse con una duplice ipotesi : o il nostro compilatore aveva sotto gli occhi un testimone perduto o, comunque, a noi sconosciuto di Ptol.,

(4) Per formule del tipo *ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον* cf. T. GAISFORD, *Etymologicon magnum*, Oxonii, 1848 (fotorist. 1967), «Praefatio», p. IX.

(5) V. PALMIERI, Un'anonima raccolta di sinonimi greci nel cod. Par. suppl. gr. 1238, in *Κοινωνία*, 10/2 (1986), pp. 193-209.

nel quale fossero presenti gli errori comuni ; oppure, più probabilmente, egli non 'collazionava' assiduamente l'esemplare di Ptol. che aveva a disposizione, mentre attingeva da altri lessici. Naturalmente V presenta anche errori propri, come a gl. 31 *τότε* per *τῷδε*, ecc.

L'*excerptum Vaticanum*, che è una tarda compilazione (XIII sec. ?), messa insieme rimanipolando liberamente materiale più o meno antico, arricchisce il gruppo dei lessici sinonimici greci che hanno più stretta somiglianza con la grande raccolta simeoniana, dei quali sinora conosciamo l'anon. Par. e l'anon. synag., com'è confermato dal numero delle glosse presenti o assenti in essi e, in parte, dalla loro disposizione alfabetica : il lessico simeoniano non comprende solo una glossa di V (45 *ἀποδρᾶναι*), la quale però e presente nell'anon. Par. (35 Palm.) e nell'anon. synag. (34 Boiss.) ; l'*excerptum Vaticanum* omette 76 glosse di Simeone (134-58 = 76).

Il rapporto, puramente numerico, con gli altri lessici sinonimici greci risulta dalla seguente sinossi.

PROSPETTO DEI PASSI PARALLELI

	Excerptum Vaticanum : glosse 58		
Lessici	Numero glosse presenti	Numero glosse assenti	Su un Totale
Simeone (inedito)	57	1	134
anon. Par. ed. Palmieri	33	25	49
anon. synag. ed. Boissonade	35	23	51
Erennio Filone ed. Palmieri	25	33	36
Ammonio ed. Nickau	47	11	91
Etim. Gudiano ed. De Stefani + Sturz	37	21	68
Tolemeo ed. Heylbut (+ cod. Bu ap. Nickau)	37	20	51

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EXCERPTUM VATICANUM

Περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων

V, f. 192] 1. *ἄβαξ, ἀβάκιον· ἄβαξ μὲν γάρ, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ πράγματα παρατιθέασιν· ἀβάκιον δέ, ἐφ' οὗ ψηφίζουσιν.*

2. *ἀβέβηλος καὶ βέβηλος· ἄμφω ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ λαμβάνονται. ἀβέβηλα μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἄψαυστα καὶ μὴ βάσιμα· βέβηλα δὲ τὰ ὅσια μέν, οὐχ ἱερὰ <δέ>, οἷον βάσιμα ὄντα. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὡς ἐρρήθη, εἰ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἄμφω λαμβάνοιντο· ἡ δὲ κοινὴ χρῆσις τοῦ βεβήλου τὴν ἐναντιωτάτην ἔχει πρὸς τὸ βέβηλον διαφοράν.*

3. *ἄγειν τοῦ φέρειν διαφέρει. ἄγεται μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, φέρεται δὲ τὰ ἄψυχα. Ὅμηρος (Od., IV, 622)·*

'οἳ δ' ἦγον μὲν μῆλα, φέρον δ' εὐήνορα οἶνον'.

4. *ἄγγελος μὲν πᾶς ὁ ἀγγέλλων τὰ ἔξωθεν. ἐξάγγελος δὲ ὁ τὰ <ἔνδον τοῖς> ἔξω διαγγέλλων, ὃν Θουκυδίδης (VII, 73, 3) διάγγελον ἐκάλεσεν, λέγων· 'ἦσαν γάρ τινες τῷ Νικίᾳ διάγγελοι τῶν ἔνδοθεν'. αὐτάγγελος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ διαγγέλλων καὶ μὴ ὑφ' ἑτέρου διαπεμπόμενος.*

1 Amm. 1 N. Ptol. 392, 26 Heylb. anon. synag. 1 = 134, 3 Boiss. anon. Par. 2 Palm. (cum testibus) Sym. 1 ; Eust. Od. III 249 = 1494, 64 Stallb. 2 Amm. 2 N. Sym. 2 anon. synag. 2 = 134, 5 Boiss. anon. Par. 3 Palm. ; cf. Herenn. 133 Palm. (cum testibus) 3 Amm. 4 N. (cum testibus) Sym. 3 ; Choerob. epim. ps. 73, 25 Gaisf. ; brevius Ptol. 395, 21 Heylb. Ptolem. 2 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 12 et exc. Cas. 2 Palm. ; plenius Herenn. 12 Palm. (cum testibus) etym. Gud. 9, 12.14c De St. 4 anon. synag. 3 = 134, 10 Boiss. anon. Par. 4 Palm. ; Ptolem. 1 Palm. (cum testibus) etym. Gud. 9, 20z De St. exc. Cas. 1 Palm. ; similiter Amm. 3 N. Sym. 4 ; Choerob. epim. ps. 85, 15 Gaisf. anon. gramm. = an. Par. IV 249, 34 Cr. ; brevius Ptol. 396, 27 Heylb.

V = *cod. Vat. Gr.* 2226, ff. 192-193^{v}
< > = quae inserenda videntur

4 *λαμβάνονται* vel *-νεται* (*εται* [?] ad *ον* suprscr.) 6 inser. Palm. ex Sym. 8 *ἔχειν* V : corr. Palm. | *ἀβέβαιον* V : *βέβηλον* Palm. 9 *διαφέρειν* : V : corr. Palm. 15 *ἀφ'* etym. Gud. alii : *ὑφ'* V anon. Par. anon. synag.

5. *ἄγροικος· βαρύνεται ὁ ἐν ἀγροῖς διατρίβων καὶ ἄμοιρος· προπερισπᾶται δὲ ὁ μὴ ἥμερος, ἴσος τῷ ἄγριος.*

6. *ἀγρονόμοι· ἀγρονόμοι μὲν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ διαπρέποντες, προπαροξύνονται δὲ οἱ ἐν ἀγροῖς νεμόμενοι.*

7. *ἀγχιστεῖς, συγγενεῖς· ἀγχιστεῖς μὲν οἷς, ἐπειδάν τις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἀποθάνῃ, συγχωρεῖ ὁ νόμος ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν τούτου δικαίων· συγγενεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ὄντες, οὐ καλούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀγχιστευτικὰ δίκαια· οἰκεῖοι δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν ἐπιμιχθέντες τῷ οἴκῳ.*

8. *αἰδώς ἐστιν ἐντροπὴ πρὸς ἕκαστον ὅν τις σεβασμίως ἔχει· αἰσχύνη δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστος ἁμαρτάνων αἰσχύνεται, ὡς μὴ δέον τι πράξας. καὶ αἰδεῖται μέν τις τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ μεθύσκεσθαι. διαστέλλει δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς ἐν Νόμῳ παιδευτικῷ* (fr. 42a Wehrli)· *φησὶ γοῦν διαφορὰν τήνδε νομιστέον αἰδοῦς τε καὶ αἰσχύνης, ὅτι ἡ μὲν αἰδὼς πρὸς ἡλικίαν, πρὸς ἀρετήν, πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν, πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὁ γὰρ ἐπιστάμενος αἰδεῖσθαι πρὸς ἑκάστην τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπεροχὴν προσέρχεται οὕτω διακείμενος οὐ διὰ τὸ ἡμαρτηκέναι τι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τὰς προειρημένας ὑπεροχάς. ἡ δὲ αἰσχύνη πρὸς πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις αἰσχροῖς.*

9. *αἰτῶ, αἰτοῦμαι· τὸ μὲν αἰτεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ δὲ αἰτοῦμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ χρήσασθαι εἰς ἀπόδοσιν. αἰτεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ μηκέτι ἀποδίδωσιν, αἰτεῖται δὲ τὸ ἀποδοθησόμενον πάλιν.*

10. *αἴθ<ε>, ὤφελον· τὸ μὲν αἴθε ἀπαρεμφάτου ἐστὶ προσώπου· τὸ δὲ ὤφελον ἐμφαίνει πρόσωπον, οἷον· ὤφελον ἐγώ, ὤφελες σύ, ὤφελεν ἐκεῖνος. καὶ ἄλλως· τὸ μὲν αἴθε ἐπίρρημά ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ὤφελον ῥῆμα.*

5 testes de hac differentia simillimis verbis agunt, sed alius ab alio alia re differt : Herenn. 7 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 6 Palm. ; Sym. 11 ; Ptolem. 13 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 6 N. (cum testibus) 6 Sym. 12 ; paulo fusius Amm. 10 N. ; similiter Eust. Od. VI 106 = 1554, 19 Stallb. 7 Amm. 5 N. Ptolem. 3 Palm. (cum testibus) Ptol. 407, 11 Heylb. exc. Cas. 3 Palm. anon. synag. 4 = 135, 1 Boiss. anon. Par. 5 Palm. ; Sym. 13 (qui gl. 15 adiecit) 8 Herenn. 21 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 17 N. (cum testibus) etym. Gud. 41, 19d[1] De St. Sym. 18 ; brevius Ptolem. 5 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Eran. 20 Palm. Ptol. 395, 10 Heylb. ; cf. etym. Gud. 41, 15d[1] et 26d[2] De St. (ex epimerismis) 9 Sym. 26 ; brevius Ptolem. 6 Palm. (cum testibus) Ptol. 396, 10 Heylb. ; similiter, Men. fr. 410 Koe.-Th. laudantes, Herenn. 20 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 19 Palm. Amm. 16 N. etym. Gud. 59, 5c De St., cf. etym. magn. 40, 25 Gaisf. Thom. Mag. 41, 2 Ritschl 10 Sym. 22 ; Herenn. 35 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 19 N. Eran. 34 Palm. Ptol. 391, 7 Heylb., quibus paulo brevius Ptolem. 9 Palm.

18 *διαπρέποντες* V, cf. Sym. : *διατρίβοντες* Suida *α* 368 30 *ὑπεροχὴν* V Sym. Herenn. : *-ῶν* Amm. 35 *τοῦ* (potius quam *τῷ*) V alii : *τῷ* Amm. 37 *αἴθ' ὄφελον* V : inser. et corr. Palm. 38 *ὄφελον*[1] V : corr. Palm. 39 *ὤφελον* (o ad *ω* suprscr.) V

11. *ἄελλα μέν ἐστιν ἄημα συνεστραμμένον, φύελλα δὲ ἄελλα θύουσα καὶ ὁρμῶσα.*

12. *ἀκόντιον τὸ ἀκοντιζόμενον ἔλαττον τοῦ δόρατος, δόρυ δὲ τὸ μεῖζον, ᾧ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχρῶντο. ἀκοντιστὴς μὲν ὁ ῥίπτων τὸ ἀκόντιον, αἰχμητὴς δὲ ὁ ῥίπτων καὶ βάλλων.*

13. *ἀλίσπαστον μὲν ἔλεγον τὸ ἁλσὶ πεπασμένον, κρέας ἢ ἰχθύας, ἁλίσπαρτον δὲ τὴν ἁλὶ κατεσπαρμένην χώραν. τῶν γὰρ ἀρχαίων τινὲς βαρβάρων δυσμενῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἁλσὶ κατέσπειρον εἰς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι φέρειν καρπούς· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ βίος τοὺς ἠκισμένους δεινῶς καὶ δυσθεράπευτα ἔχοντα<ς τὰ> σώματα ἁλισπάρτους καλεῖ.*

14. *ἁλοᾶν δασύνεται, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἅλω πατεῖν· ἁλοιᾶν δὲ ψιλοῦται, τὸ τύπτειν.*

15. *ἀγχιστεῖς· συγγενεῖς ἀπὸ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θείων κατὰ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τελευτήσαντος· οἱ δὲ ἔξω τούτων συγγένεια μόνον, αἷμα οἱ παῖδες, γένος οἱ ἀδελφοί, συγγένεια οἱ γαμβροί.*

16. *ἀγνεύειν τὸ ἀπὸ ἀφροδισίων, καθαρεύειν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ. ἔλεγον*
192[v]] *δὲ | καὶ καταχρηστικῶς· ἡ συνήθεια δὲ τὴν βρομάτων ἀπόσχεσιν.*

17. *ἀγωνοθέται οἱ ἐν τοῖς σκηνικοῖς, ἀθλοθέται δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν.*

11 Amm. 13 N. etym. Gud. 27, 25d[2] De St. ; anon. Par. 6 Palm. anon. synag. 5 = 135, 6 Boiss. ; Sym. 17 (qui in fine aliquid add.) ; Ptolem. 7 Palm. 12 anon. Par. 7 Palm. anon. synag. 6 = 135, 8 Boiss. ; Sym. 33 et de altera gl. parte 23 ; usque ad *ἐχρῶντο* Amm. 23 N. ; Ptolem. 11 Palm. 13 Sym. 37 ; Herenn. 11 Palm. (cum testibus) idemque de propr. 10 et Eran. 11 Palm. etym. Gud. 89, 3d[1] De St. (ex Herennio) ; Amm. 29 N. (*τῶν γὰρ ἀρχαίων – καρπούς* om.) 14 anon. synag. 7 = 135, 11 Boiss. ; anon. Par. 8 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Ptol. 408, 18 Heylb. (quae desiderantur, e cod. Bu supplentur) ; inter se congruunt, quaedam addentes, Amm. 27 N. Sym. 38 epimetr. = an. Gr. II 375, 35 Bachm. Moschop. syll. 137[r]A 15 usque ad *μόνον* Sym. 13 (in fine) ; *αἷμα – γαμβροί* anon. synag. 8 = 135, 13 Boiss. schol. Eur. Or. 1233 = I 211, 7 Schw. anon. Par. 9 Palm. (cum testibus) 16 Sym. 14 anon. synag. 9 = 135, 14 Boiss. anon. Par. 10 Palm. ; brevius etym. Gud. 12, 20c De St. 17 Sym. 15 anon. synag. 10 = 135, 17 Boiss. anon. Par. 11 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 9 N. ; Phot. lex. *α* 320 Theod.

49 *ἠκισμένους* de propr. Amm. etym. Gud. : *ἠσκημένους* V Sym. Amm. codd. *π* | *δυσθεράπευτα* V Sym. : *-εύτως* Amm. | inser. Palm., coll. testibus 57 *τῶν* post *τὴν* add. Sym. alii

18. *αἱρετέος, αἱρετός· αἱρετέος ὁ δι' ἀπορίαν, αἱρετὸς ὁ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδέξιος.*

19. *ἕτερος, ἄλλος· τὸ μὲν ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ δυοῖν τάσσεται·*

'χολὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα' (Hom., *Il.*, II, 217).

τὸ δὲ ἄλλος ἐπὶ πλειόνων·

'οἷσε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἕτερον δὲ μέλανα·

Διὶ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον' (Hom., *Il.*, III, 103 sq.).

ὡς καὶ τὸ ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ δυοῖν, τὸ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπὶ πλειόνων τάσσεται.

20. *ἀλλοίωσις, ἑτεροίωσις· ἀλλοίωσις μὲν οὐ μόνον μεταχαρακτηρισμός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὑπολήψεως οἴησις ἑτέρα· ἑτεροίωσις δέ, ὅταν ἀφ' ἑτέρου χρώματος εἰς ἕτερον μεταβάλῃ, ὡς ἡ Νιόβη εἰς λίθον.*

21. *ἀμφότεροι <'ἑκάτεροι>· ἀμφότεροι μὲν ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πράττουσιν· «ἀμφότεροι τὴν δόκον μίαν οὖσα<ν> φέρουσιν». ἑκάτεροι δέ, ἐπειδὰν χωρὶς ἑκάτερος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πράττῃ, οἷον· «ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ μίαν φέρει».*

22. *ἅμα, ὁμοῦ· τὸ ἅμα χρονικὸν ἐπίρρημα, τὸ ὁμοῦ τοπικόν·*

'ἔνθα δ' ἅμ' οἰμω<γή >' (cf. Hom., *Il.*, IV, 450 ; VIII, 64).

ἀντὶ «κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον». ἐπὶ τοπικοῦ δέ·

'ὁμοῦ ἐτρεφόμην' (Hom., *Od.*, XV, 365),

18 Sym. 21 anon. synag. 11 = 135, 19 Boiss. anon. Par. 12 Palm. (cum testibus) 19 anon. synag. 12 = 136, 1 Boiss. anon. Par. 13 Palm. (cum testibus) et plenius, exemplis additis, Sym. 41 ; de differentia inter voces *ἄλλος* et *ἕτερος* Amm. 198 N. (inv. ord.) Sym. 300 et Amm. 30 N. (sine exemplis) ; de simili distinctione vocis *ἑκάτερος* a voce *ἕκαστος* fusius Amm. 162 N. (cum testibus) 20 Amm. 28 et 316 N. (altera pars) Sym. 42 anon. synag. 13 = 136, 8 Boiss. anon. Par. 14 Palm. ; Ptolem. 17 et exc. Cas. 8 Palm. ; cf. Herenn. 116 Palm. (cum testibus) 21 anon. synag. 14 = 136, 11 Boiss. anon. Par. 15 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Sym. 49 Ptol. 407, 29 Heylb. ; paulo fusius Amm. 35 N. ; paulo brevius Ptolem. 21 et exc. Cas. 11 Palm. ; cf. Polyb. de soloec. = an. Gr. III 234, 12 Boiss. (p. 148 Iriarte) 22 Sym. 45 ; plenius Herenn. 31 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 34 N., quibus brevius etym. Gud. 103, 18d[2] De St. Eran. 30 Palm. ; distinctionem tantum praebent, usque ad lin. 75 *τοπικόν* Ptol. 390, 7 Heylb. etym. Gud. 103, 8d[1] et 102, 10d[1] De St. (ex epim. Hom. = an. Ox. I 28, 1 Cr.) Ptolem. 20 Palm. (cum testibus) exc. Cas. 10 Palm.

61 *ἐπιδέξιος* V Sym. anon. Par. anon. synag. : *ἐπίλεκτος* corr. De Stefani in etym. Gud. 53, 24 d[2] (cf. 53, 23 d[2]) 62 *τοῦ* V anon. Par. anon. synag. (del. Boiss.) : om. cett. 65 *οἷσε* V anon. Par. anon. synag. : *οἴσετε* Sym. 41 Hom. codd. | *ἕτερον* (*-ος* Sym.) *δὲ μέλανα* V Sym. anon. Par. anon. synag. : *ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν* Hom. codd. 71 inser. Palm. 72 *δόκον* ex *δοκῶν* factum (o ad *ω* suprscr.) V 76 inser. Palm.

ἀντὶ «ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ». ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ Ὅμηρος τὸ ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ χρονικοῦ τάσσει·
'εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ <καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς'>
(Hom., *Il.*, I, 61), *εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις εἴποι καὶ νῦν τὸ ὁμοῦ «ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ», οἷον 'ἐν Τροίᾳ ὅ τε πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς δαμᾷ τοὺς Ἀχαιούς'. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ ἅμα ἐπὶ τόπου·*
'τοὺς ἅμα σοι πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει' (Hom., *Il.*, XXIII, 182),
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πυρκαιᾷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν «κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον» ἀκούσοι. περιεργόρετον δ' ἂν συλλογίσαιτό τις συλληπτικῶς λαμβάνειν τὸ ἅμα «ἕνεκεν τῶν πολλῶν σκηνομάτων» καὶ οὐ τοπικῶς.

23. *ἀμυγδαλῆ περισπωμένως τὸ δένδρον· ἀμυγδάλη παροξυτόνως σημαίνει τὸν καρπόν. οὕτω Πάμφιλος* (fr. 1 Schmidt) · *Φιλόξενος* (fr. 437 Theod.) *<δὲ> ἀμφότερα οἴεται περισπᾶν.*

24. *ἀμύνεσθαι τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς προαδικήσαντας, ἀμύνειν δὲ τὸ βοηθεῖν.*

25. *ἀμφισβήτησις μέν ἐστιν ἑτέρου πρὸς ἕτερον· περὶ γὰρ τοῦ προκειμένου πράγματος ὁ λόγος. ἄγνοια δὲ ἡ παντελὴς ἀνεπιστεμοσύνη τοῦ προκειμένου.*

26. *ἀναβάτης μὲν ἵππου λέγεται, ἐπιβάτης δὲ νεώς.*

27. *ἀναβάλλεσθαί ἐστι τὸ προΐεσθαι καὶ παριέναι τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καιρὸν τῶν πράξεων· ὑπερτίθεσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιμένειν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καιρὸν τῶν πράξεων.*

28. *ἀναγόμενοι καὶ ἀναχθέντες διαφέρει. ἀνήγοντο μὲν οἱ πλέοντες, ἀναγόμεναί τε οἱ νῆες, οὐκ ἀναχθεῖσαι· ἀνήχθησαν δέ τινες εἰς τὸ στρατήγιον.*

23 anon. synag. 15 = 136, 15 Boiss. anon. Par. 16 Palm. (cum testibus) ; usque ad *καρπόν* Ptol. 389, 11 Heylb. Sym. 51 et, Eup. fr. 253 K. addens, Amm. 33 N. (cum testibus) 24 Amm. 36 N. ; Herenn. 17 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 17 Palm. ; epim. Hom. = an. Ox. I 10, 31 Cr. etym. Gud. 120, 1d[1] De St. (ex Ptolemaeo, ut vult d[2]) ; brevius exc. Cas. 12 Palm. ; inv. ord. Sym. 52 25 Sym. 54 anon. synag. 16 = 138, 18 Boiss. anon. Par. 17 Palm. ; inv. ord. Amm. suppl. 4 = etym. Gud. 125, 3d[1] De St. (ex Herennio, ut vult d[2]) 26 anon. synag. 21 = 137, 6 Boiss. ; Amm. 49 N. (cum testibus) Ptol. 389, 26 Heylb. Sym. 56 anon. Par. 23 Palm. ; Ptolem. 26 et exc. Cas. 16 Palm. ; plenius Moschop. syll. 138[r] A ; cf. de impr. 47 N. etym. Gud. 502, 18d[2] De St. 27 Sym. 57 anon. synag. 22 = 137, 7 Boiss. anon. Par. 24 Palm. ; Ptol. 392, 17 Heylb. ; Amm. 45 N. 28 Sym. 58 anon. synag. 23 = 137, 10 Boiss. anon. Par. 25 Palm. (cum adn.) ; Amm. 51 N. Ptol. 397, 7 Heylb.

79 *αὐτῷ τῷ* V Amm. : inv. Herenn. Sym., recte | *ἅμα* V : *ὁμοῦ* in marg. sin. V 80 *πόλιν* pro *πόλεμος* V : corr. et inser. Palm. 85 *χρόνον* supra lin. add. V | *ἀκούσοι* (*οι* ad *η* suprscr.) V 86 *λαμβανόμενον* Sym. 87 *τοπικῶς* Sym. V (compend. dub.) 90 inser. Palm., coll. testibus 94 *πράγματος* post *προκειμένου* add. anon. synag. 100 *αἱ ναῦς* V 100 sq. *στρατήγιον* V Sym. anon. Par. anon. synag. : *-γεῖον* Amm.

29. *ἀμφίπολος μὲν κοινὸν ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας· ἄτμενος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὁ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ὑποτεταγμένος ἐλεύθερος.*

30. *ἀνάθημά ἐστι διὰ τοῦ ῆ τὸ ἀφιερούμενόν τε καὶ ἀνατιθέμενον ἱερῷ τινι· ἀνάθεμα δὲ τὸ ὕβρεως ἐχόμενον καὶ ἀνεθεματισμοῦ.*

31. *ἀνακεῖσθαι διαφέρει τοῦ κατακεῖσθαι. ἀνάκειται μὲν ὁ ἀνδριὰς καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν τῷδε κατὰ τιμήν· κατάκειται δὲ ὁ εὐωχούμενος.*

32. *ἀνακωχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ νεῶν, οἷον πόση τις ἀναχώρησις· ἀνοκωχὴ διὰ τοῦ ō ἀνοχὴ μικρὰ πολέμου· διοκωχὴ καὶ ἀκωχὴ ἐπὶ νοῦ, οἷον διάλειψίς τις καὶ ἄνεσις.*

33. *ἀναλγὴς ὁ μὴ ἀλγῶν, ἀνάλγητος ὁ ἀνεπί<σ>τρεπτος τοῦ καθήκοντος.*

34. *ἀνάμνησις μέν, ὅταν τις ἀφ' αὑτοῦ εἰς μνήμην ἔλθῃ τῶν παρελθόντων· ὑπόμνησις δέ, ὅταν ὑπό τινος ἑτέρου ἐπὶ τοῦτο προαχθῇ.*

35. *ἀναστῆναι μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ πρᾶξίν τινα ὁρμῆσαι·*

'τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος' (Hom., *Il.*, I, 58 ; IX, 52 ; XIX, 55),

ἐγερθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐπὶ ἔργον, ἐγερθῆναι δὲ ἐς ὕπνου.

29 Sym. 55 anon. synag. 24 = 137, 13 Boiss. anon. Par. 26 Palm. ; praemissa distinctione vocis *θής* a voce *λάτρις*, Herenn. 96 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 232 N. Ptol. 396, 30 Heylb. etym. Gud. 262, 21 Sturz Sym. 350 ; cf. Eran. 69 Palm. 30 Sym. 64 ; paulo plenius Herenn. 6 Palm. (cum testibus) = Amm. suppl. 5 N. etym. Gud. 130, 12d[1] De St. ; Ptolem. 27 Palm. (cum testibus) 31 Amm. 40 N. (cum testibus) ; paulo plenius Sym. 65 ; paulo brevius anon. synag. 25 = 137, 16 Boiss. anon. Par. 27 Palm. (cum testibus) ; multo fusius Eust. Od. I 160 = 1404, 6 Stallb. ; cf. Ptol. 394, 12 Heylb. ; aliter Suida *α* 1898 = I 170, 13 Adl. 32 Sym. 67 anon. synag. 51 = 141, 9 Boiss. ; Amm. 46 N. Ptol. cod. Bu post 397, 6 Heylb. (teste Nickau) ; cf. Thom. Mag. 103, 11 Ritschl ; Hesych. *α* 5251 La. 33 Ptol. 408, 14 Heylb. Sym. 68 anon. synag. 26 = 137, 18 Boiss. anon. Par. 28 Palm. (cum testibus) ; inv. ord. Amm. 47 N. Ptolem. 24 et exc. Cas. 14 Palm. 34 Sym. 69 anon. synag. 27 = 138, 1 Boiss. anon. Par. 29 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 43 N. Ptol. 389, 29 Heylb. ; Ptolem. 23 et exc. Cas. 13 Palm. 35 Sym. 72 anon. synag. 28 = 138, 4 Boiss. anon. Par. 30 Palm. (cum testibus) ; brevius Amm. 50 N. Ptol. 389, 27 Heylb. ; cf. Amm. 216 N. de impr. 48 N. etym. Gud. 134, 25d[2] De St.

102 *ἄσμενος* V 104 *ἀφιερούμενον* V Sym. : *ἀνιερούμενον* Herenn. alii | *ἐν* ante *ἱερῷ* add. De Stefani 107 *τῷδε* Amm. Sym. alii : *τότε* V 108 *ἀνοκωχὴ* V Sym. : *ἀνακωχὴ* Amm. 109 *μικρὰ* V Sym. : *μακρὰ* Amm. Ptol. | *διοκωχὴ* Amm. : *διωκοχὴ* V : *διακωχὴ* Sym. | *ἀκωχὴ* V cett. : *ὀκωχὴ* coni. Valckenaer 110 *τις* Amm. Sym. : *τε* V 111 inser. Palm. ex Syn. 117 *ὥσπερ ἐστίν* V : *ὥστε* Sym. alii | *ἐπὶ ἔργον* Amm. anon. Par. : *ἀπὸ ἔργου* V Sym. : *ἀπὸ ἐπὶ ἔργον* anon. synag. cod.

36. *ἀνεψιοὶ καὶ ἐξανεψιοὶ διαφέρει. ἀνεψιοὶ μὲν οἱ τῶν ἀδελφῶν* |
193] 120 *παῖδες, ἐξανεψιοὶ δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν.*

37. *ἀνοχὴ μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἐν πολέμῳ διά τινα χρείαν ἀναβολὴ <τῆς μάχης> κατὰ συνθήκην κοινὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐπιέναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐπικηρυκεία δέ, ὅταν οἱ ἕτεροι πέμπωσι τοὺς αἰτησομένους ἀνοχὰς ἢ σπονδὰς ἢ εἰρήνην.*

38. *ἀνὴρ μὲν κυρίως λέγεται ὁ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τινι διαπρέπων, ἄνθρωπος δὲ*
125 *ὁ μὴ διαπρέπων.*

39. *ἀνδρεία μέν ἐστιν ἰσχὺς ψυχῆς, ῥώμη δὲ σώματος, ὅθεν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν ἐπὶ ψυχῆς τακτέον, τὴν δὲ ῥώμην ἐπὶ σώματος· ἀνδρεία μέν ἐστι δύναμις ἐπαινουμένη, ἀνδραγαθία δέ, εἰ καὶ τὴν ψυχικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχει μαρτυροῦσαν· ἢ ἀνδραγάθημα ἀνδραγαθίας διαφέρει.*

130 40. *ἄξονες καὶ κύρβεις· οἱ μὲν ἄξονες ἦσαν τετράγωνοι, οἱ δὲ κύρβεις τρίγωνοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄξονες εἶχον τοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς νόμους ἐγγεγραμμένους, οἱ δὲ κύρβεις τὰς δημοσίας ἱεροποιΐας καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. ξύλινοι δέ εἰσιν ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι καὶ νόμους ἔχουσιν ἐγγράφους.*

41. *ἀνατολὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου λάμψις, ἐπιτολὴ δὲ ἡ τῶν ἄστρων.*

135 42. *ἀπαράσκευος· ὁ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χορηγίαν <ἀνέχων> ἀπαράσκευος ἂν λέγοιτο· ὁ δὲ δι' ἑτέρου ἀπαρασκεύαστος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς*

36 Amm. 52 N. Ptolem. 29 Palm. (cum testibus) exc. Cas. 17 Palm. ; Sym. 73 (quaedam addens) ; Amm. 176 N. (in fine) ; cf. Herenn. 65 Palm. (cum testibus) 37 anon. synag. 29 = 138, 9 Boiss. anon. Par. 31 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 42 N. Ptol. 407, 21 Heylb. (post distinctionem inter voces *σπονδαί* et *συνθῆκαι* : Amm. 446 N.) ; Sym. 70 38 Herenn. 5 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 5 Palm. etym. Gud. 144, 15d[1] De St. (Amm. suppl. 6 N.) Sym. 74 39 duo distinctiones in hac glossa coniunctae sunt, sicut Sym. 75 : a) *ἀνδρεία* vs *ῥώμη* etym. Gud. 137, 10d[1] De St. Ptolem. 41 Palm. (cum testibus) exc. Cas. 27 Palm. schol. Eur. Or. 918 = I 188, 5 Schw. ; b) *ἀνδρεία* vs *ἀνδραγαθία* (*ἀνδραγάθημα*) Herenn. 30 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 29 Palm. Amm. 41 N. Ptol. 390, 4 Heylb. etym. Gud. 136, 8d[1] De St. (ex Herennio, ut vult d[2]) ; cf. Hesych. *α* 4718 et 4738 La. 40 Sym. 83 anon. synag. 30 = 138, 12 Boiss. ; usque ad *τοιοῦτον* Amm. 57 N. (cum testibus) Ptol. cod. Bu post 397, 6 Heylb. (teste Nickau) ; similiter Thom. Mag. 36, 12 Ritschl ; etym. Gud. 355, 38 Sturz (ex epim. Hom. = an. Ox. I 221, 5 Cr.) *λέξ. ῥητ.* = an. Gr. I 274, 24 Bekk. ; schol. Ar. av. 1354 = 239b52 Dübn. (245, 9 White) ; schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV 279-281bc = 279, 6 Wend. (cum testibus) 41 anon. synag. 31 = 138, 18 Boiss. anon. Par. 32 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Sym. 79 ; lex. rhet. Cantabr. 16, 10 Houtsma (LGM 76, 10) ; Ptolem. 39 Palm. (lacun.) ; exc. Cas. 25 Palm. (lemma tantum) 42 Herenn. 10 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Sym. 84 ; etym. Gud. 159, 9d[1] (ex Herennio) et 159, 22d[2] De St. (mutil.) ; brevius Ptol. 390, 1 Heylb. ; usque ad lin. 137 *ἀπαρασκεύαστος* Eran. 10 Palm. (ex quibus Amm. suppl. 7 N.)

121 inser. Palm., coll. Ptol., duce Nickau 122 *κοινὴν* (vel *-νῶς* potius quam *-όν*, compend. dub.) V 135 inser. Palm., coll. Sym. 84

<ὁ> μονομάχους δοῦναι <θέλων> ἀπαράσκευος, ὅσοι δὲ μονομάχοι ἀπαρασκεύαστοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ παθητικὴν ἔχειν ἔμφασιν ὑφ' ἑτέρου πίπτει, τὸ δὲ αὐτεξούσιόν ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν ἐναλλάσσων ταῦτα ἀκυρολογεῖ.

140 43. *ἀπελεύθερος μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ δούλου ἠλευθερωμένος· ἐξελεύθερος δὲ ὁ γενόμενος διὰ χρέα προσβλητὸς ἢ κατὰ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν δουλεύσας, εἶτα ἀπολυθεὶς <εἶτα ἐλευθερωθείς>. ἤδη μέντοι καὶ ἀδιαφόρως χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀπελεύθερος, ἐξελεύθερος.*

44. *ἁπλότης μὲν ἐστι φρόνησις ἀπηλλαγμένη πανουργίας καὶ οἷον ἁπλῆ*
145 *τις οὖσα, μωρία δὲ ἐρημία φρενῶν. λαμβάνεται δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἡ ἁπλότης ἐπὶ κουφότητος· ὁπότε παρὰ δυσμενοῦς ἐπιφέρεται, ἐπικαλεῖται τὴν μωρίαν.*

45. *ἀποδρᾶν<αι> μὲν ἐστι τὸ ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα ἄδηλον εἶναι ὅπου ἐστίν· ἀποφυγεῖν δὲ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι. λέγει δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὴν*
150 *διαφορὰν ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει* (I, 4, 8) *· 'οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν – οἶδα γὰρ ὅπου οἴχονται – οὔτε ἀπο<πε>φεύγασιν',*

46. *ἀποκριθῆναι μέν ἐστι τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι, ἀποκρίνεσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐρωτηθέντα λόγον ἀποδοῦναι.*

43 Sym. 90 ; anon. synag. 32 = 138, 20 Boiss. anon. Par. 33 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 65 N. (cum locis adlatis) Ptol. 407, 25 (cf. 394, 3) Heylb. ; brevius etym. Gud. 162, 11c De St. (cf. 485, 12d[1]) ; aliter ex parte Herenn. 67 Palm. (cum testibus) 44 Sym. 92 ; anon. synag. 33 = 138, 24 Boiss. anon. Par. 34 Palm. (cum testibus) ; brevius (usque ad lin. 146 *φρενῶν*) etym. Gud. 167, 11c De St. Ptolem. 44 et exc. Cas. 30 Palm. 45 anon. synag. 34 = 139, 1 Boiss. anon. Par. 35 Palm. (cum testibus) ; Amm. 63 N. ; brevius (usque ad lin. 150 *ἐπιληφθῆναι*) Ptol. 408, 20 (cf. 389, 4) Heylb. 46 Sym. 98 (cf. 100) exc. Cas. 19 Palm. Ptol. 393, 18 Heylb. ; Amm. 67 N. Barber. 1 Ptolem. 33 et anon. Par. 36 Palm. (cum testibus) anon. synag. 35 = 139, 5 Boiss.

137 inser. Palm., coll. Amm. : om. cum V Sym. 138 *διὰ τὸ* Herenn. alii : *διὰ τοῦ* V (*διὰ τὴν* Sym. cod. T) 141 *προσβλητὸς* Ptol. 407 codd. : *πρόσηλυτος* V Sym. anon. synag. anon. Par. Amm. codd. : *προσθέτους* Herenn. alii 142 inser. Palm., coll. testibus 142 sq. *ἀδιαφόρως* Amm. alii : *διαφόρως* Sym. codd. anon. synag. cod. : *διαφόροις* V 144 *ἀπηλλαγμένη* (alterum *λ* supra lin.) V, cf. anon. Par. cod. 146 *παρὰ* V Sym. : *περὶ* anon. Par. anon. synag. | *ἐπικαλεῖται* V Sym. : *ἐπὶ καλοῦ* (an *κακοῦ*?) *δὲ* anon. Par. anon. synag. | *τὴν μωρίαν* V Sym. : *καὶ* (om. anon. Par.) *ἡ μωρία* anon. Par. anon. synag. 148 inser. Palm., coll. testibus 151 inser. Palm., coll. testibus 152 *ἀποκρίνεσθαι δὲ* supra lin. add. V, cf. anon. Par. : *ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ* cett.

47. *ἀπολογίζεσθαι μὲν ῥητέον τὸ ἀποδιδόναι λόγον τῶν δαπανημάτων·*
155 *καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἁπλοῦν λογίζεσθαι, οἱ ἀριθμητικοὶ λογισταί. ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγῳ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀνασκευάζειν. ἐν ἄλλῳ τούναντίον.*

48. *ἀποκήρυκτος μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἐπ' ἀδικήμασί τισιν αἰτίας ἐκβληθεὶ<ς> ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου· ἐκποίητος δὲ <ὁ> ἑτέρῳ εἰσποιητός.*

49. *ἀπορία μέν ἐστιν ἀργυρίου σπάνις, ἀφορία δὲ ἡ τῶν καρπῶν ἔνδεια.*
160 50. *ἀποφορὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων δούλων τελοῦμενον τοῖς δεσπόταις, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ <τῶν> πολιτῶν δημοσίᾳ διδόμενα ἀποτελέσματα εἰσφορά.*

51 *<ἆρα, ἄρα>· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ περισπασμὸν λεγόμενος σύνδεσμος ἀπορηματικός ἐστιν· «ἆρά γε πῶς ἕξει τὸ πράγμα ;» ὁ δὲ κατὰ συστολὴν*
165 *συλλογιστικός· «ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡμέρα ἐστίν, φῶς ἄρα ἐστιν».*

52. *τὸ μὲν ἀριθμῆσαι ἐπὶ ὀλίγων παραλαμβάνεται, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ τις «εἷς, δύο, τρεῖς»* (cf. PLAT., *Tim.*, 17a) *· τὸ δὲ μετρῆσαι ἐπὶ πλήθους, οἷον σίτου, κριθῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἢ σημειωτέον ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ συνεχοῦς τὸ μετρεῖν λέγεται, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ διακεκριμένου τὸ ἀριθμεῖν.*

170 53. *ἄρνες μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἀ<ρ>νεοὶ δὲ οἱ τέλειοι, ὁμοίως ἀρνειούς τε*
193v] *τράγους τε | καὶ ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων πρωΐμως γεννηθέντων.*

47 Sym. 103 ; Herenn. 19 Palm. (cum testibus) etym. Gud. 174, 12d[1] De St. (ex Herennio, ut vult d[2]) ; inv. ord. Amm. 62 N. ; Ptol. 389, 16 Heylb. (voces in codd. permutatas invertit Heylbut) 48 similiter Sym. 102 ; Herenn. 8 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 7 Palm. ; etym. Gud. 171, 17d[1] De St. (ex Herennio, ut vult d[2], at *οὕτως Ἐρατοσθένης* d[1], cf. *λέξ. ῥητ.* = an. Gr. I 215, 19 Bekk.) ; Amm. 61 N. Ptol. 390, 9 Heylb. Ptolem. 32 Palm. (cum testibus) exc. Cas. 18 Palm. 49 Sym. 104 anon. synag. 36 = 139, 6 Boiss. anon. Par. 37 Palm. (cum testibus) ; etym. Gud. 175, 17d[1] (*κυρίως*) 50 Herenn. 27 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 26 Palm. etym. Gud. 178, 8d[1] De St. ; addita voce *ἀναφορά* (cf. Amm. 69 N.) Sym. 105 ; similiter Amm. 66 N. (cum locis adlatis) 51 plenius Herenn. 34 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 74 N. etym. Gud. 182, 9d[1] De St. (lacun.) ; brevius Barber. 4 Ptolem. 34 et exc. Cas. 20 Palm. ; Ptol. 390, 24 Heylb. ; Sym. 107 ; Eran. 33 Palm. (in fine a ceteris discedens) 52 plenius Sym. 108 anon. synag. 37 = 139, 9 Boiss. anon. Par. 38 Palm. (cum testibus) ; brevius deinceps, usque ad lin. 169 *ὁμοίων* etym. Gud. 194, 13d[1] De St. (aliter pergens), usque ad lin. 169 *κριθῆς* Barber. 2 Ptolem. 40 et exc. Cas. 26 Palm. 53 usque ad *τέλειοι* (lin. 171) Sym. 111 et inv. ord. Eran. 9 Palm. (cum testibus), unde etym. Gud. 200, 14d[1] De St. ; similia praebent Amm. 77 N. (cum testibus) Ptol. 388, 10 Heylb. Barber. 7 Palm., quibus brevius Ptolem. 37 et exc. Cas. 23 Palm.

156 *τοῦ* V Sym. : *τῷ* Amm. 157 sq. inser. Palm., coll. testibus 161 inser. Palm. ex Sym. 163 inser. Palm. 166 *τις* supra lin., ut vid., V 168 *ἢ* om. Sym. alii 170 inser. Palm.

54. *ἄρρωστος μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἀδυνατῶν ἐπιτελεῖν <τι> κατὰ τὰς ὁρέξεις· ἀρρωστεῖ δὲ ὁ νοσῶν.*

55. *<ἀρρωδεῖν,> ὀρρωδεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὀρρωδεῖν διὰ τοῦ ō σημαίνει τὸ εὐλαβεῖσθαι. ἐξηγοῦνται δὲ τὴν λέξιν οὕτως· ὄρρος λέγεται ὁ περὶ τοὺς γλουτοὺς τόπος, ὄντινα ταῦρον λέγουσιν· ὅθεν καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων ὁ τόπος οὗτος ὀρροπύγιον καλεῖται, οὐχ, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες, ὀρθοπύγιον. οἱ δὲ εὐλαβόμενοι περί τινος ἀνασπᾶν εἰώθασι τὸ αἰδοῖον, πολλάκις δὲ τὰ ἄλογα ὑποστέλλειν εἴωθε τὴν οὐράν, ὅταν εὐλαβῆται. εὔλογον οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος τὸ ὀρρωδεῖν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῆς εὐλαβείας. τὸ δὲ ἀρρωδεῖν οἷον κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ ὀρρωδεῖν, τουτέστιν οὐκ εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν καὶ τεθαρρηκέναι, <ὡς ἡ> χρῆσις·*

'δεινὸν κακοῦ παρόντος ἀρρωδεῖν βροτόν'

(tragic. fr. adesp. 564c Snell).

56. *τὸ μὲν ἄρτι χρονικόν ἐστιν ἐπίρρημα, τὸ δὲ ἀρτίως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπηρτισμένου τελείως. ὥστε ἁμαρτάνει Σαπφὼ λέγουσα* (fr. 123 L.-P. = 123, cf. 103, 10 Voigt)·

'ἀρτίως + ἡ χρῆσις + Αὔω<ς>'.

παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς <δὲ> τὸ μὲν ἀρτίως σημαίνει αὐτῆς τῆς ὥρας, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι παρατατικῶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρῳχηκότος χρόνου.

54 consentiunt Herenn. 13 Palm. (cum testibus) Eran. 13 Palm. Ptol. 393, 13 Heylb. (inv. ord.) etym. Gud. 206, 1d[1] De St. (e Ptolemaeo, ut vult d[2]) ; voces et distinctionem permutant Amm. 78 N. Barber. 8 Ptolem. 38 et exc. Cas. 24 Palm. Sym. 119, qui ad vocem *ἀρρωστεῖ* utramque significationem trahit in gl. 112 55 Herenn. 15 Palm. (cum testibus) etym. Gud. 205, 13d[2] (ex Herennio) Amm. 80 N. (cum testibus) ; brevius Eran. 15 Palm. ; Sym. 113 56 Amm. 75 N. (cum testibus) Sym. 115 ; paulo brevius Herenn. 33 Palm. (cum testibus) ; similiter usque ad lin. 187 *τελείως* Eran. 32 Palm. Barber. 5 Ptolem. 35 et exc. Cas. 21 Palm.

172 inser. Palm. ex Eran. 173 *ὁ νοσῶν* omnes testes : *ὁ νοῦς* V (an retinendum ?) 174 inser. Palm. 176 *γλουνοὺς* V 177 *οὕτως* V 178 *εἴωθεν* V, sicut infra Herenn. etym. Gud. 179 *εὐλόγως* Herenn. alii 181 *οὐκ* V Herenn. : *μὴ* Amm. 182 inser. Palm. ex Sym. 183 *βροτόν* V Sym. cod. S : *βτοτῶν* Sym. cod. T 188 *ἡ χρῆσις* V : *μὲν ἁ χρυσοπέδιλος* Amm. Sym. | *αὔω* V : *αὖ· ὡς* Amm. codd. : *αὖ* Sym. codd. : *αὖτη* Herenn., cf. Nickau Voigt 189 inser. Palm. ex Sym. 190 *παρατατικῶς* Amm. Sym. : *-κὸν* Herenn. : *περιτ* ( ) V (compend. dub.)

57. *ἁρπαγή <, ἁρπάγη>· ἐὰν μὲν ὀξυτόνως σημαίνει τὴν αἰφνίδιον καὶ μετὰ βίας ἀφαίρεσιν, εἰ δὲ βαρεῖαν ἁρπάγη τὴν ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων τοὺς κάδους ἀξαίρουσαν.*

58. *ἄρχειν μὲν τό τινων ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ <προΐστασθαι...>.*

57 Sym. 114 ; multo fusius Herenn. 28 Palm. (cum testibus) Amm. 73 N. ; brevius Eran. 27 Palm. (mutil.) ; epimetr. = an. Gr. II 376, 25 Bachm. etym. Gud. 203, 15d[1] De St. 58 Sym. 116 anon. synag. 38 = 139, 16 Boiss. anon. Par. 39 Palm. (cum testibus) ; brevius Amm. 72 N. Ptol. 410, 13 Heylb. Barber. 3 Ptolem. 15 et exc. Cas. 7 Palm.

191 inser. Palm. | *ὀξυτόνως* V (compend. dub.) : *προενεγκώμεθα* add. Amm. 192 *βαρεῖαν* V (scil. *προσῳδίαν ἔχει*) : *βαρυτόνως* Amm. 194 inser. et lac. ind. Palm.

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NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

SULLA FINE DELL'EPISTOLA DI PSELLO A GIOVANNI XIFILINO

In un recente, acuto articolo sulla tradizione ms. della *Epistula* di Psello per Xifilino, condotta su un nuovo testimone, il *Par. gr.* 1277, E. V. Maltese (1), non ritiene degna di nota una variante proposta da questo codice, che a me sembra, invece, «*potior*», rispetto a quella tràdita dal *Par. gr.*, 1182 :

> *διὰ ταῦτα γοῦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐλήλυθα τὴν γραφήν, ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ἀποδεικνύς, ὡς οἷόν τε, ὅτι πᾶσαν Ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν ὅσην 'ὁ' πάλαι 'χρόνος ἐπρέσβευσε' – συναρίθμει ταύτῃ καὶ τὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα γνῶσις ἀπόρρητος – ἐλάττονα ξύμπαντα τοῦ εἶναι γέρων λελόγισμαι.*

è la parte finale della lettera : in essa Psello, dopo aver difeso la legittimità (2) della cultura laica – vista come strumento per l'affinamento delle capacità intellettuali e retoriche – conclude affermando che ritiene di nessun valore la sapienza profana se rapportata all'«*εἶναι γέρων*» : è una ripresa esplicita di quanto detto prima ai righi 208-228 : da monaco, il filosofo si propone di partire dall'incontro con Dio, ottenuto con la preghiera e l'estasi, per passare allo studio della sapienza monacale : muovendo, poi dalla perfezione spirituale acquisita, scenderà nel mondo della scienza profane, per risalire, infine, affinato anche razionalmente, a Dio. Nella parte finale, così, non c'è un rifiuto di quanto prima affermato, ma solo conferma della priorità e della superiorità della esperienza arazionale su quella razionale, intesa solo come sussidio.

Ora nel passo su riprodotto secondo la trad. del *Par. gr.* 1182 non disturba la compendiarietà della comparazione – confronto tra un prodotto culturale

(1) *L'epistola di Psello a Giovanni Xiphilino*, in *Byzantion*, LVII (1987), pp. 427-432.

(2) *Epistula ad Xiphilinum*, p. 57, rr. 234-239, Criscuolo.

e il produttore di quello contrapposto — ma piuttosto il fatto che Psello si dica «*γέρων*». Tale qualifica non gli poteva convenire per due motivi : 1) egli è ancora un neofita e continua a contrapporre la sua cultura a quella monacale (cf. *e.g.*, rr. 212-213 «la vostra cultura» ; r. 240 «il vostro insegnamento») ; 2) con *γέρων* si indicava il vecchio, e perciò autorevole, padre, consigliere spirituale degli abati, e l'asceta di cui apoftegmi si ponevano come regola per i monaci. L'improvvisa e inattesa affermazione di Psello : «preferisco essere un *γέρων* piuttosto che un dotto profano» è un voltafaccia troppo rapido e un segno di presunzione, incongruo, con ciò che precede, e non funzionale ai fini della *captatio benevolentiae*.

Tutto ciò induce ad accettare la lezione di per sé, *difficilior*, data, per i rr. 238-239, dal *Par. gr.*, 1277 *τοῦ εἶπε γέρων νενόμισμαι*, banalizzata in *τοῦ εἶναι γέρων λελόγισμαι* dal *Par. gr.*, 1182.

Con essa il paragone si pone tra cultura profana e cultura monacale, che nei «gherontikà» veniva introdotta con il «disse un vecchio». La stessa espressione, introdotta sempre dall'articolo che sostantiva l'*incipit*, si trova al rigo 211, cioè in quella parte che la chiusa riprende e ribadisce.

P.S. Apprendo per lettera dall'amico Maltese che il *Cod. Barb. gr.*, 240, fol. 146^{v}, l. 15 tramanda la stessa lezione del *Par. gr.*, 1277 *τοῦ, εἶπεν γέρων*. La virgola dopo l'articolo, come giustamente mi fa notare Maltese, conferma l'interpretazione da me data.

Catania. Rosario ANASTASI.

MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE *PASSIO* OF THE FORTY OF SEBASTEIA THE GREEK ORIGINAL OF THE *CODEX SUPRASLIENSIS* NOTES ON A PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION (1)

Mario Capaldo gives, in appendix to an article on linguistic aspects of the Old Slav *codex Suprasliensis*, a "reconstruction" of the Greek prototype of one of its texts, the *Passio* of the forty martyrs of Sebasteia, that amounts to a reedition, based on Gebhardt's text, with variants from five Vatican and one Bodleian ms. For Capaldo the Greek text is ancillary. Of the odd hundred mss catalogued, these are not necessarily those he would have chosen if it had been his prime concern. Though the variants turn out to be practically negligible in themselves (*e.g.* τιμῶν ἀξιωθῆναι v. τιμῆς ; εἶπεν v. λέγει), it is of undeniable use in carrying forward study of the Greek tradition. Indeed the numerous translations of the *Passio*, some of them early, are major witnesses in themselves.

In Capaldo's text, short lacunae corresponding to one or more readings in the apparatus, represent words, present in the Greek texts, for which the Slavic gives no equivalent. For some, different mss offer variants. Others again represent no more than a οἱ ἅγιοι as subject for a verb that could have

(1) Mario CAPALDO, *Zur linguistischen Betrachtungsweise der Komposition des Codex Suprasliensis* (*Die Passio der vierzig Märtyrer von Sebaste*), in *Contributi Italiani all'VIII Congresso internazionale degli Slavisti* (Zagreb-Llubliana, 1978), pp. 23-60.

Reference will also be made to : the editions of the Greek text by R. ABICHT and H. SCHMIDT (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 18, 1896), and by O. von GEBHARDT, *Acta martyrum selecta*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 166-81 ; the two Latin versions published in AASS Mar. II, pp. 12-29 ; an Armenian and two Georgian versions published I. V. ABULADZE in *Izvestia Instituta rukopisej Akademii Nauk Grycinskoj*, SSR, V, 1963 ; the Syrian version in the translations of W. WEYH and now of Sebastian BROCK (*Acts of the Belfast colloquium, the XL Martyrs*, April 1986, under publication) ; the Coptic fragment in the translation of D. P. BUCKLE (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 6, 1921, pp. 352-60).

had no other subject. One or two suggest simplifications adopted in translation (*e.g.*, 41, 21 or the omission, 48, 21, of the word *περιταθέντα*), while others, such as abridgments in Psalm quotations, are a feature met elsewhere and probably go back to the Greek original.

The most obvious feature is the affinity between *Supr.* and *V 2* (*Vaticanus gr.* 1641) ; 21 common readings are not, apparently, shared by any other of the mss used (the app. crit. sometimes leaves me in slight doubt, the use of *codd.*, in particular, seems to me not entirely consistent, and *om(isit)* is apparently synonymous with *deest*) ; 10 readings are common to *Supr.*, *V 2* and *V 4* (*Vat. gr. 1636*) ; six of these are also shared by *W* (*Vat. gr. 2000*). The opposition *εἶπον/λέγει* is not significant per se. However, the systematic use of the first in these mss as against the second in g (Gebhardt) and p (Abicht and Schmidt), backed by more striking variants (*e.g.*, *τοῖς δαίμοσιν Supr., V 2, V 4, W*: *τοῖς θέοις, V 1*, p, no equivalent in g ; 42, 5-6 *καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παραδοθῆναι ταῖς τιμορίαις Supr., V 2, V 4*, W : g, p, no equivalent ; 48, 8, after *δεθέντας* p and g add *καὶ σχοινισθέντας*, etc.) suggest a division.

Unfortunately the sum of p and g is highly erratic. Gebhardt describes his text as being that of Abicht supplemented from two other mss (Abicht used only *Paris BN Fonds grec 520*), *Ven. Gr. Zan. 359* and *Vindob. theol. X*, but omits to make clear on what principle he opts for Abicht, or, alternatively, for a different reading, nor does he specify from which ms the latter are drawn. These minor variants are relatively numerous, but there are a couple that are significant. At 42, 23 the reading is *φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτούς* in Abicht and in all Capaldo's texts ; both Latin versions of the AASS have *vox*, though the second (*interprete Joanne diacono Neapolitano*) is perhaps too free for absolute certainty (... *Salvatorem clara voce dicentem* ..., not a voice from heaven preceding his apparition) ; the Armenian and two Georgian texts published by Abuladze all have "voice", as does the Syriac translated by Weyh and, more recently, by Sebastian Brock. Of published texts, only, so far as I know, the Coptic fragment translated by D. P. Buckle agrees with g in giving "light". It is a heavily abridged text, too deeply indebted to St. Basil to be considered a g text (2).

The reading of p is, then, in this case, that of almost the whole manuscript tradition. Nonetheless *Paris. BN gr. 520* frequently fails to inspire confidence : 42, 5 *ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς ζωῆς* is the best known case ; though the two

(2) "When the saints were in prison Christ appeared to them at midnight. An ineffable light surrounded him".

Georgian texts also have "life" the correct reading is ζωνῆς, "belt", the exact equivalent of "stripes" : "you will lose your stripes", be denoted. It would, however, be rash to group the *Paris.* with the Georgian mss on the basis of such an inviting slip. At 51, 3 καύσωσι, a rationalisation, seems more likely to be a development from καύσω of the other mss than the reverse. The invention of the relics is more abstract : after the death of the martyrs they are simply thrown "into the river", not "into the river nearby" as in the other versions . their piling up at the cliff is also missing ; finally, the saints tell the bishop that they are to be found in τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ, not τῷ ποταμῷ ; it seems to me possible we have here another step in the fading of the Sebasteia landscape (whose most dramatic feature is the setting of the martyrdom on the surface of the lake ([3])). The Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian versions, some, at least, of which are earlier, give the full story.

Discrepancies are heaped in three areas of the text : in connection with the invention of the relics, as we have just seen (52, 28-13) ; with the *kapiklarios'* cogitations (50, 6-16) ; with the devil's lament (50, 27-51, 4). The last two are unquestionably interpolations.

In the *fustuarium* episode, the expression στραφεὶς ὁ λίθος (46, 15) is, it seems, in the selection of mss considered, peculiar to *Supr.* and *V*, *1* (*Vat. gr. 1673*) ; it is parallelled in the second of the AASS versions : *resiliens lapis* (23 F). It is not present in the Armenian, Georgian or Syriac texts.

All of these texts represent the heavily interpolated *Passio*, elaborated far from Sebasteia, but essentially earlier than St. Basil, that I have postulated elsewhere ([3]). Nonetheless, even in this small sample, dividing lines emerge.

P. KARLIN-HAYTER.

(3) P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *The Greek tradition. The earliest account*, in *Acts of the Belfast colloquium* (see n. 1).

Corrigenda

Dans notre tome LVIII (1988), fasc. 1, pp. 179-180 a paru, sous la rubrique *Notes et Informations*, une note de M. Georges K. Papazoglou intitulée *Horismos du Despote Dèmètrius Paléologue, un acte du couvent Dionysiou du Mont Athos.* Dans le petit texte grec de la p. 180 il y a lieu d'apporter les deux corrections suivantes : l. 13 *τῶ*, scr. *τῶν* ; l. 14 *αὕτη* scr. *αὕτῃ*.

Enfin, à la dernière ligne de l'article, au lieu de 1464, il faut lire 1463.

MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS

LA RELATION RUSSE DE LA QUATRIÈME CROISADE

Le récit anonyme de la Quatrième Croisade dont le témoin le plus ancien est attesté *sub anno* 1204/6712 dans la *Première Chronique de Novgorod* est un texte qui ne fut porté à la connaissance des érudits occidentaux que relativement tard. En effet, ce n'est qu'en 1873, à la faveur d'une traduction latine publiée par Karl Hopf([1]), que le monde savant fut informé de l'existence de ce bref document relatant les événements depuis la déposition d'Isaac II jusqu'au couronnement impérial de Baudouin de Flandres.

Même si ce témoignage, par sa dimension et son style, ne saurait rivaliser avec les Histoires de Nikètas Chôniatès, de Geoffroy de Villehardouin, et, dans une moindre mesure, de Robert de Clari, cette *Relation* n'est pas sans présenter un intérêt historique que les spécialistes n'ont pas manqué de signaler ([2]). Il s'agit, tout d'abord, de la narration d'un témoin des événe-

Une première version de cette étude a bénéficié des remarques et de la critique bienveillante du professeur José Johannet (Univ. de Paris-X) qui a bien voulu se charger de revoir l'apparat et qui a, ainsi, largement contribué à rendre ce travail moins imparfait qu'il n'eût été. Il va de soi que je demeure le seul responsable de la rédaction définitive. S. P.

(1) *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, éd. Ch. HOPF, Berlin, 1873, pp. XIV-XV, 93-98. Cette traduction n'est pas exempte d'erreurs ; cf. les études de D. Freydank et de J. Gordon citées *infra*, n. 5.

(2) Cf., en premier lieu, K. HOPF lui-même qui a utilisé ce texte avant de le publier : *Geschichte Griechenlands im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, I. Leipzig, 1867, pp. 184-200 (*Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künsten*, Hrsg. J. S. Hersch u. J. B. Grüber, 85) ; et, plus récemment : Sara DE MUNDO LO, *Cruzados en Bizancio. La Cuarta Cruzada a la luz de las fuentes latinas y orientales*, Buenos-Aires, 1957 ; J. FOLDA, *The Fourth Crusade, 1201-1203, Some Reconsiderations*, dans *Byzantinoslavica* [*infra* : *Byzsl.*], 26, 1965, pp. 277-290 ; D. E. QUELLER, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople*, Philadelphie, 1977 ; Ch. M. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968 ; etc.

ments qui rapporte des informations de première main ou, tout au moins, qu'il considère comme telles ; ensuite, parmi les *fontes minores* de l'histoire de la Croisade auxquelles il s'apparente au moins par la forme, et hormis le témoignage de Nikétas Chóniatès, c'est le seul document de l'époque qui ne provienne pas du côté des «Latins» ([3]).

Or ce texte, bien que souvent cité, n'a été que peu étudié pour lui-même ([4]) ; on tend à négliger son intérêt proprement historique (mais aussi topographique et prosopographique) au profit de sa valeur littéraire ou anecdotique. Il n'a jamais donné lieu à une édition critique et les traductions ([5]) en sont peu ou pas annotées. Il est vrai que cette *Relation* est complexe à plus d'un titre. Par sa nature, elle appartient au genre des «récits de chronique»; c'est-à-dire que, malgré une certaine indépendance, il serait hasardeux d'en considérer la teneur en faisant abstraction du milieu annalistique d'où ils sont issus ([6]) ; d'autre part, et de façon concomitante, la tradition

(3) D'un point de vue bibliographique, cf. J. KARAYANNOPOULOS et G. WEIß, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz*, II. *Hauptquellen*, Wiesbaden, 1982, § 10.1-8, pp. 459-476.

(4) Cf. N. A. MEŠČERSKIJ, *Drevnerusskaja povest' o vzjatii Car'grada Frjagami v 1204 g.*, dans *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* [*infra* : *TODRL*], 10, 1954, pp. 120-135 ; IDEM, *Drevnerusskaja povest' o vzjatii Car'grada Frjagami kak istočnik po istorii Vizantii*, dans *VV*, 9, 1956, pp. 170-185 (ces deux études, extrêmement semblables tant par la forme que par le fond, seront respectivement citées MEŠČERSKIJ, *TODRL* et *VV*) ; D. FREYDANK, *Die altrussische Erzählung über die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1204 und ihr historischer Quellenwert*, dans *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 23, *Reihe K : Byzantinische Beiträge*, 1, 1966, pp. 71-77 ; IDEM, *Die altrussische Erzählung über die Eroberung Konstantinopels 1204* (*Chronista Novgorodensis*), dans *Byzsl.*, 29, 1968, pp. 334-359.

(5) Elles sont fort nombreuses et de valeur inégale : R. MICHELL et N. FORBES, *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, Londres, 1904, pp. 43-48 ; J. GORDON, *The Novgorod Account of the Fourth Crusade*, dans *Byz.*, 43, 1973, pp. 306-311 ; D. FREYDANK, *Die altrussische Erzählung ...*, dans *Byzsl.*, 29, 1968, pp. 339-344 ; J. DIETZE, *Die Erste Novgoroder Chronik nach ihrer ältesten Redaktion (Synodalhandschrift)*, Munich, 1971, pp. 79-83 ; Sara DE MUNDO LO, *La Cuarta Cruzada según el cronista novgorodense*, dans *Anales de historia antigua y medieval* (de la) *Universidad de Buenos-Aires*, 1950, pp. 135-141 (en espagnol à partir de la traduction latine) ; O. V. TVOROGOV, *Povest' o vzjatii Car'grada krestonocami v 1204 g.*, dans *Pamjatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi. XIII vek*, [éd. L. A. DMITRIEV et D. S. LIXAČEV], Moscou, 1981, pp. 106-113, 537-539 (russe moderne).

(6) Cf. D. S. LIXAČEV, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X-XVII vekov*^{2}, Léningrad, 1983, p. 376 ; Ja. S. LUR'E, *K izučeniju letopisnogo žanra*, dans *TODRL*, 27, 1973, pp. 73-98.

des chroniques qui nous les transmet connaît une histoire, un développement et un mode de propagation qui ne se confond pas nécessairement avec celle des récits qu'elle véhicule. Ainsi, ne peut-on manquer de relever l'ambiguïté – relative – d'une situation qui conduit à analyser comme établi et indépendant ce qui n'existe que dans le continuum, tout à la fois rigide et mouvant, de l'historiographie russe médiévale. C'est pourquoi, avant de traiter du texte lui-même, il convient de s'arrêter à l'histoire de sa transmission en retraçant brièvement celle des chroniques russes (7) : en premier lieu celle de la *Chronique de Novgorod*, puis celle des chroniques postérieures qui continuent à attester notre texte jusqu'au XVIe siècle.

I. La transmission du texte

a) *La Première Chronique de Novgorod.*

La *Première Chronique de Novgorod* (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*) nous est parvenue dans deux recensions (*izvody*) ; la première et la plus ancienne est connue par un manuscrit unique des XIIIe-XIVe siècles (= S), tandis que la seconde est attestée par six *codices* des XVe-XVIIIe siècles, dont trois seulement doivent être pris en considération (= KAT) (8). On admet généralement, à la suite des travaux de D. S. Lixačev, que ces deux recensions remontent à une compilation non attestée (*svod*) rédigée à Novgorod vers 1136 près la cour de l'évêque Niphon, parallèlement à d'autres sources d'origine kiévienne (9). Ce *svod* qui reçut d'A. A. Šaxmatov, son premier découvreur (10), le nom de *Chronicon de Sainte-Sophie* (*Sofijskij vremennik*) est continué jusqu'en 1333/1352 par S et jusqu'en 1447 par KAT, principale-

(7) L'étude de H.-J. GRABMÜLLER, *Die russischen Chroniken des 11.-18. Jh. im Spiegel der Sowietforschung (1917-1975)*, I. *Allgemeine Probleme-Hilfsmittel-Methoden*, dans *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 24, 1976, pp. 394-416, est, pour le lecteur occidental, la meilleure introduction à la question.

(8) *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov*, éd. A. N. NASONOV, Moscou-Léningrad, 1950 [*infra* : *NPL*].

(9) D. S. LIXAČEV, *Novgordskie letopisnye svody XII v. Avtoreferat*, dans *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie literatury i jazyka*, 3, n° 2-3, 1944, pp. 98-106 ; IDEM, *Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno istoričeskoe značenie*, Moscou-Léningrad, 1947, pp. 197-215, 440-443 ; IDEM, *«Sofijskij vremennik» i novgorodskij političeskij perevorot 1136 g*, dans *Istoričeskie zapiski*, 25, 1948, pp. 240-265 (= IDEM, *Issledovanija po drevnerusskoj literature*, Léningrad, 1986, pp. 154-184).

(10) A. A. ŠAXMATOV, *Xronologija drevnejšix russkix letopisnyx svodov*, dans *ŽMNP*, 1897, pp. 463-482.

ment par l'utilisation d'annales locales, mais aussi à l'aide de sources méridionales, ainsi que l'a montré V. T. Pašuto ([11]).

Cet auteur est à l'origine d'une hypothèse selon laquelle certaines parties d'un *svod* rédigé à Kiev en 1238 auraient été utilisées par les annalistes novgorodiens qui y auraient notamment copié la *Relation* de la Croisade ([12]). On reviendra plus loin sur le problème de l'origine supposée de notre texte, mais on peut d'ores et déjà remarquer que si l'affirmation de V. T. Pašuto concernant la *Relation* ne repose sur aucune évidence ([13]), on constate cependant que dans S, comme dans KAT, elle est encadrée par des notices se rapportant à la Russie méridionale. Il serait en effet séduisant de supposer un emprunt «en bloc» au *svod* kiévien de 1238, mais cette hypothèse se heurte aux difficultés que soulève la critique interne de la *Chronique de Novgorod*.

Le problème a été récemment réexaminé ([14]) par V. L. Janin qui, à la suite d'une collation systématique des variantes de teneur qui distinguent S de KAT a remarqué que, dans KAT, *s.a.* 1203/6712, on trouve, outre le texte de la *Relation*, une courte *Notice*, absente de S, rapportant la chute de Constantinople ([15]) :

> «*En ce même temps, à la fête des Rameaux, les Latins arrivèrent sous les murs de Constantinople, dans des buses, et la prirent d'assaut. Ils massacrèrent les Grecs, et ceux d'entre eux qui s'étaient cachés, ceux-là aussi ils les exterminèrent en les tirant (de leurs cachettes). Ils pillèrent entièrement Sainte-Sophie et ce*

(11) V. T. PAŠUTO, *Kievskaja letopis' 1238 g.*, dans *Istoričeskie zapiski*, 26, 1948, pp. 273-305 ; IDEM, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*, s. l. [Moscou], 1950, pp. 21-67.

(12) PAŠUTO, *Kievskaja letopis'*, p. 290 ; *Očerki*, p. 56.

(13) Outre les chroniques citées *infra*, n. 19, Pašuto utilise, à l'appui de sa démonstration, les *Annales* de Jan Długosz (1415-1480), mais celles-ci ne font aucune mention de la chute de Constantinople : IOANNIS DLUGOSSI, *Annales seu cronica incliti Regni Poloniae*, éd. initiale d'I. DAMBROWSKI et V. SEMKOVICZ-ZAREMBA, *Liber quintus. Liber sextus*, Varsovie, 1974, pp. 191-192.

(14) I. M. TROCKIJ est le premier à avoir mené systématiquement ce type d'analyse (*Opyt analiza Pervoj novgorodskoj letopisi*, dans *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, otdelenie obščestvennyx nauk*, 1933, pp. 337-362), mais le relevé de V. L. JANIN (cf. n. suivante) est, pour la période qui nous intéresse, encore plus complet ; cf. aussi, du même auteur, d'utiles précisions sur la chronologie de la *Première Chronique de Novgorod* au début du XIIIe siècle : *K xronologii novgorodskogo letopisanija pervoj tretii XIII v.*, dans *Novgorodskij istoričeskij sbornik*, nouv. sér., 2, 1984, pp. 87-126.

(15) V. L. JANIN, *K voprosu o roli Sinodal'nogo spiska Novgorodskoj I letopisi v russkom letopisanii XV v.*, dans *Letopisi i xroniki 1980*, 1981, pp. 153-181.

qu'elle renfermait. Ce qu'il pouvait y avoir de puissants monastères et d'églises, ceux-là aussi ils les dépouillèrent entièrement. Ils firent sortir, ligotés, le patriarche, les abbés et les abbesses et prirent leur or ([16])».

D'autre part, la notice kiévienne qui la précède, sur le sac de Kiev par Rjurik Rostislavič, est notée dans S selon le système de comput dit «mars» alors que dans KAT elle est consignée en style «ultra-mars» ([17]) ce qui tendrait à prouver que la continuation du *Chronicon de Sainte-Sophie* s'est appuyée sur deux sources distinctes.

Ces observations ont donc conduit V. L. Janin a supposer l'existence d'un autre *svod* ([18]) : le *Chronicon de 1204*. Cette compilation serait née à l'occasion même de la chute de Constantinople ; identique pour l'essentiel au texte de KAT jusqu'en 1205, elle serait la source directe de la *Notice*. Les remarques de V. L. Janin, par ailleurs solidement argumentées, ont l'avantage de mettre en avant plusieurs points importants. Tout d'abord S, ou plus

(16) *NPL*, p. 246[8-4].

(17) Sur ces distinctions fondées sur l'adoption d'un mois de l'année, pris comme référence pour le calcul des douze mois suivants, cf. N. G. BEREŽKOV, *Xronologija russkogo letopisanija*, Moscou, 1963, pp. 7-16 ; l'auteur y apporte d'utiles compléments au bref exposé de V. GRUMEL (*La chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 125).

(18) V. L. JANIN, *K voprosu o roli*, p. 179. On ne tient pas compte ici de l'hypothèse plusieurs fois formulée par M. X. Aleškovskij concernant la rédaction d'un svod vers 1220 (M. X. ALEŠKOVSKIJ, *Povest' vremennyx let. Sud'ba literaturnogo proizvedenija v Drevnej Rusi*, Moscou, 1971, chap. 6, pp. 71-83 et p. 122-129, n. 2 ; IDEM, *Novgorodskij letopisnyj svod konca 1220-x godov*, dans *Letopisi i xroniki 1980*, 1981, pp. 104-111). Cette hypothèse s'appuie, entre autres choses, sur l'identification de l'archevêque Antoine de Novgorod, auteur d'une fameuse relation de pèlerinage à Constantinople (*Putešestvie nogorodskogo arxiepiskopa Antonija v Car'grade v konce 12-go stoletija*, éd. P. [I.] SAVVAITOV, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1872 [*infra* : ANTOINE]) avec l'auteur de la *Relation* de la Croisade ; cette identification est erronée comme le prouve une collation des deux textes :

DESIGNATA	ANTOINE, *col.*	RELATION, *l.*
σκευφυλάκιον	*oltarī malyi* 55	*sūsudoxranilīnica* 137
βῆμα	*oltarī velikyi* 70	*oltarī* 128
ἐσονάρθηξ	*trapeza* passim	(voir, *infra*, n. 64)
τράπεζα	*olūtarī* 78	*trjapeza* 130
τὸ Ἱπποδρόμιον	*Konevyi Torgŭ* 107	*Konīnyi Torgŭ* 119
ὁ Ἱππόδρομος	*Podromii* 155	*Podrumīe* 43
αἱ Πηγαί/εἰς Πηγὰς (cf. n. 84)	*Ispiganīskaja strana* 58	*Ispigasŭ* 100
Isaac II (*Κὺρ Ἰσσαάκιος*)	*Kirsakŭ* 166	*Isakŭ* 7
Alexis III	*Alekšēi* 78	*Olīksa* 4

précisément la recension ancienne de la Chronique, serait définitivement confirmée comme source primitive de la *Relation*. Ensuite, elles permettent de reléguer au second plan les hypothèses de Pašuto sur l'origine méridionale si ce n'est de la rédaction, du moins de la transmission de la *Relation*. Enfin, elles ont l'intérêt de mettre en évidence un aspect important de la vitalité de l'historiographie novgorodienne où, visiblement, la chute de Constantinople a été ressentie avec plus d'intensité qu'ailleurs puisque l'événement se trouve consigné par deux fois dans la Chronique alors que, paradoxalement, on n'en trouve nul écho dans les chroniques méridionales ([19]).

On remarquera, cependant, que si V. L. Janin a très consciencieusement traité des mutations chronologiques dans la recension récente il a, peut-être, négligé de les examiner manuscrit par manuscrit. En voici la représentation pour les années 1203/6711-1238/6746 (tableau p. suiv.).

On constate que les citations de l'année 1204/6712 de KA sont partiellement déportées dans T, à la suite de la citation de 1238/6746, où la *Relation* est coupée en deux ([20]). L'origine de ce type de confusion s'explique souvent par des bévues de reliure, mais si tel était le cas, c'est-à-dire que T ou son protographe aient été reliés en désordre, pourquoi, alors, les citations de 6712 seraient-elles absentes ou tronquées dans A, manuscrit qui, au demeurant, partage avec KT l'omission d'un trait spécifiquement novgorodien représenté par *e*? On ne peut assigner au simple hasard l'hétérogénéité de ces répartitions et on doit se demander si le *Svod de 1204* ne se fondait pas, à son tour, sur des sources distinctes, suffisamment diverses en tout cas pour que la suggestion d'un apport non-novgorodien dans le *Svod* doive être prise en compte, notamment au regard des notices kiéviennes *c* et *d*, également présentes dans tous les manuscrits.

À ce stade de l'analyse, il importe de souligner que si l'origine proprement dite de la *Relation* de la Croisade demeure délicate à déterminer, en revanche, il semble bien établi que, dans le corpus novgorodien, son inclusion ne descende pas plus bas que la Recension ancienne, où, selon toute vraisemblance, elle a dû être insérée peu de temps après 1205.

(19) *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* [*infra*: *PSRL*], I². *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, éd. E. F. Karskij, Pétrograd-Léningrad, 1926/28 ; *PSRL*, II². *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*, éd. A. A. Šaxmatov, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1908. Sur ces annales, cf. dans le *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Russi* [*infra*: *SKKDR*], *TODRL*, 39, 1985, pp. 18-184, les notices de Ja. S. Lur'e (pp. 128-131) et d'O. P. Lixačeva (pp. 123-128).

(20) *NPL*, p. 244, n. 41 ; voir infra *apparat*, l. 114-115, 146.

S	K	A	T
6711 a	*6711* a	*6711* a	*6711* a
b			
6712 **R**	*6712* **R**	*6712* **R***	*6712* $\mathbf{R_1}$*
	b	b**	
	N	N*	
			6745 d
			6746 e **
			f
			[*6712*] $\mathbf{R_2}$*
			b
			N
6713 c	*6713* c	*6713* c	*6713* c
.....	.....	.....	
6745 d	*6745* d	*6745* d	
6746 e	*6746* e**	*6746* e **	
f	f	f	

* lacune partielle
** lacune totale
} par rapport à S

R – *Relation.*
N – *Notice.*
a – notice sur la prise de Kiev.
b – notices diverses (expédition en Lituanie ..., épidémie chevaline).
c – *idem* (ambassade de Vsevolod à Novgorod ..., mort de son épouse).
d – *idem* (éclipse solaire ..., arrivée du métropolite Joseph à Kiev).
e – notice sur l'édification d'un monastère à Novgorod.
f – invasion mongole.

b) *Les chroniques pan-russes et la compilation de 1448.*

On désigne ordinairement sous le terme de pan-russes (*obščerusskie*) les compilations annalistiques du Nord de la Russie qui se sont constituées durant les XIVe et XVe siècles, au moment de l'unification des différentes principautés autour de Moscou. Les chroniques qui reflètent cette évolution sont, d'un certain point de vue, d'accès plus aisé en cela que, à titres divers, elles dépendent toutes d'une source commune ; par contre, leur nombre plus élevé et surtout la variété des intérêts politiques locaux dont elles sont le reflet fidèle rendent l'analyse de leurs sources singulièrement plus complexe que pour n'importe quelle autre période de l'historiographie russe.

La source commune à l'analistique de cette période est le *Svod de 1448*. L'existence de cette compilation a été établie – non sans mal – par A. A. Šaxmatov ([21]) qui lui supposait une origine novgorodienne. M. D. Priselkov qui admettait dans ses grandes lignes l'analyse de Šaxmatov y a vu, quant à lui, une provenance moscovite ([22]). Enfin, Ja. S. Lur'e qui a consacré une grande partie de ses travaux à l'examen de cette question a pu établir que l'origine de ce *svod* est à chercher dans la période d'affaiblissement temporaire du pouvoir moscovite, entre 1425 et 1440-1450, ce qui explique son caractère relativement «neutre» et, donc la facilité avec laquelle il put être réutilisé dans les diverses principautés alors non encore soumises ([23]). Le *Svod de 1448* se fonde principalement sur trois *svody*: la continuation du *Chronicon* novgorodien de Sainte-Sophie, le *svod* qui est à l'origine de la *Chronique Hypatienne* et le *Svod initial* (*Načal'nyj svod*) dont on fait généralement remonter la composition vers 1093 ([24]).

En vertu des «lois de succession» ([25]) qui président à la rédaction des différents *svody* on peut donc déduire, par élimination, que la transmission de notre texte dans le *Svod de 1448* s'est faite au travers du *Chronicon* novgorodien et non par les *svody* méridionaux.

Parmi les chroniques qui dépendent du *Svod de 1448* et qui continuent la tradition de la *Relation*, la plus ancienne est la *Première chronique sophienne* (*Sofijskaja pervaja letopis'*) du XVe siècle. Elle nous est connue par deux

(21) A. A. Šaxmatov, *Obščerusskie letopisnye svody XIV i XV vv.*, dans *ŽMNP*, 1900, pp. 90-176 ; Idem., *Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV-XVI vv.*, Moscou-Léningrad, 1938, pp. 144-145, 151-160 ; Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi*, pp. 447-450.

(22) M. D. Priselkov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI-XV vv.*, Léningrad, 1940, p. 150.

(23) Ja. S. Lur'e, *K probleme svoda 1448*, dans *TODRL*, 24, 1969, pp. 142-146 ; Idem., *Obščerusskij svod – protograf Sofijskoj I i Novgorodskoj IV letopisej*, dans *TODRL*, 28, 1974, pp. 114-139. Idem., *Obščerusskie letopisi XIV-XV vv.*, Léningrad, 1976, pp. 67-121 *et passim*. L'existence de ce svod a été mise en doute par G. M. Proxorov, *Letopisnye podborki rukopisi GPB, F. IV. 603 i problema svodnogo obščerusskogo letopisanija*, dans *TODRL*, 32, 1977, pp. 165-198, cf. la réplique de Lur'e, *Ibidem.*, pp. 199-218 ; Idem, *Obščerusskie letopisi XIV-XV vv.*, Léningrad, 1976, pp. 67-121 et *passim*.

(24) Cf., en dernier lieu, O. V. Tvorogov, *Povest' vremennyx let i Načal'nyj svod (tekstologičeskij kommentarij)*, dans *TODRL*, 30, 1976, pp. 3-26.

(25) Les faits sont naturellement plus complexes ; les défauts d'une analyse purement mécaniste (Šaxmatov) ont été soulignés par Ja. S. Lur'e, *O šaxmatovskoj metodike issledovanija letopisnyx svodov*, dans *Istočnikovedenie otečestvennoj istorii 1975 g.*, 1976, pp. 87-107.

recensions : la première est représentée par les manuscrits «Karamzin» et «Obolenskij» (= O), la seconde, par sept *codices* ([26]). L'édition la plus récente (d'ailleurs inachevée) ne distingue malheureusement pas les deux recensions et n'a pu tenir compte de nouveaux manuscrits récemment découverts, c'est donc en quelque sorte par convention que l'on a retenu O comme témoin de la première recension et le manuscrit «Tolstoj» (= G) comme témoin de la seconde ([27]).

L'étape suivante, à la fin du XVe siècle, est représentée par la *Chronique moscovite de 1479* (*Moskovskij velikoknjaževskij svod*). Cette chronique, qui influera sur la quasi-totalité de l'annalistique postérieure, est une émanation directe de la chancellerie moscovite. Elle est attestée par deux manuscrits dont seul le premier a été édité en son entier (= M) ([28]).

La *Chronique vologo-permienne* (*Vologodsko-Permskaja letopis'*) dont la rédaction se situe à la limite du XVe et du XVIe siècle est assez proche de la *Chronique moscovite* à ceci près, qu'à la différence de cette dernière, elle a utilisé des sources provenant d'un *svod* commun avec la *Chronique nikanorovienne* (*Nikanorovskaja letopis'*) du XVe siècle ([29]). Les trois rédactions de la *Chronique Vologo-permienne* n'offrant pas de divergences sensibles en ce qui concerne le texte de la *Relation*, on s'est borné à ne tenir compte que d'un seul manuscrit (= P) ([30]).

La *Chronique de la Résurrection* (*Voskresenskaja letopis'* ; du nom du monastère où elle fut trouvée) a été rédigée entre 1542 et 1544. Comme l'a bien montré Mme S. A. Levina, bien qu'elle dérivât principalement du *Svod de 1448* et de la *Chronique moscovite*, les rédacteurs ont utilisé une telle quantité d'autres sources qu'aucune d'entre elles ne peut être considérée comme prééminente. Elle est connue par treize *codices* des XVIe-XIXe siècles,

(26) Cf. LUR'E, *Obščerusskie letopisi*, p. 277.

(27) Aujourd'hui il semble que l'on se tournerait plutôt vers le *codex* «Balzerov» (cf. LUR'E, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117). On remarquera toutefois que dans l'apparat la divergence entre les deux rédactions ne se manifeste que trois fois (l. 33-34, 106, 108). Sur cette chronique, cf. ŠAXMATOV, *Obozrenie*, pp. 208-221 ; PRISËLKOV, *Istorija*, pp. 142-164 ; et, outre les études mentionnées *supra*, n. 23 : *SKKDR*, pp. 144-146.

(28) Sur le second manuscrit lacuneux du XVIIIe siècle, apparemment secondaire, cf. Ja. S. LUR'E, *Moskovskij svod 1479 i ego protograf*, dans *TODRL*, 30, 1976, pp. 95-113 ; sur la chronique : *SKKDR*, pp. 115-117.

(29) *PSRL*, 27 (1962), pp. 17-162 ; la *Relation* de la Croisade n'y figure pas.

(30) Cf. V. I. BUGANOV, *O spiskax Vologodsko-permskoj letopisi*, dans *Problemy obščestvenno-politiceskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran*, Moscou, 1968, pp. 158-165 ; *SKKDR*, pp. 119-120.

tous lacuneux. On n'a retenu ici que le *codex* «Bystrov», le plus ancien et le plus complet de tous les manuscrits (= V) ([31]).

À la différence des chroniques citées jusqu'à présent, la *Chronique de Tver'* (*Tverskoj sbornik*) du XVIe siècle n'a pas subi l'influence directe de la *Chronique moscovite* ; jusqu'à la citation de 1285/6793, elle dépend principalement d'annales locales et d'un *svod* compilé à Rostov (le copiste, lui-même d'origine rostovienne, l'a copié en 1534) ([32]). De toutes les chroniques contenant la *Relation*, c'est celle qui fait montre du plus grand nombre d'additions et de remaniements stylistiques par rapport au texte novgorodien, sans que l'on puisse considérer pour autant que sa teneur en soit atteinte. On remarquera par ailleurs que le copiste signale qu'au moment de son travail, il disposait d'au moins deux témoins de notre texte dont l'un est, du reste, fautif (cf. *infra* apparat, l. 153). L'édition déjà ancienne de ce document se fonde sur un manuscrit unique (= F) ; depuis lors, deux autres ont été découverts mais restent inédits.

La *Chronique enluminée* (*Licevoj svod*) a été rédigée sur la commande d'Ivan le Terrible, et, partiellement, sous son contrôle personnel, vers 1568-1576. Elle ne comprend pas moins de 9.700 folios répartis en dix *codices* ; c'est dans le cinquième, dit «Laptev», que se trouve la *Relation* (= N) ([33]).

c) *La Chronique hellène et romaine (seconde version).*

Ce document, compilé avant 1453, encore inédit dans sa totalité, appartient au genre des compilations d'histoire universelle appelées en Russie

(31) Cf. S. A. LEVINA, *O vremeni sostavlenija i sostavitelja Voskresenskoj letopisi*, dans *TODRL*, 11, 1955, pp. 375-379 ; EADEM, *Spiski Voskresenskoj letopisi*, dans *Letopisi i xroniki 1984*, 1984, pp. 38-58 ; EADEM dans *SKKDR*, pp. 120-123.

(32) Cf. A. N. NASONOV, *Letopisnye pamjatniki Tverskogo knjažestva. Opyt rekonstrukcii tverskogo letopisanija c XIII do konca XV v.*, dans *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, VII serija, Otdelenie gumanitarnyx nauk*, 1930, pp. 709-773 ; LUR'E, *Obščerusskie letopisi*, pp. 49-55 ; *SKKDR*, pp. 147-149.

(33) Cf. M[me] O. I. PODOBEDOVA, *Miniatjury russkix istoričeskix rukopisej. K istorii russkogo licevogo letoposanija*, Moscou, 1965, p. 109 *sq.*, 324 ; B. M. KLOSS, *Nikonovskij svod i russkie letopisi XVI-XVII vekov*, Moscou, 1980, pp. 206-214, 235-236 ; S. O. ŠMIDT, *Rossijskoe gosudarstvo v seredine XVI stoletija*, Moscou, 1984, pp. 190-216. Sur les miniatures illustrant la Relation de la Croisade, cf. O. I. PODOBEDOVA, *Povest' «O vzjatii Car'grada ot krestonoscev» v 1204 g. v interpretacii russkogo miniatjurista vtoroj poloviny XVI v.*, dans *Actes du XVe congrès international d'études byzantines*, II. *Art et archéologie. Communications, B*, Athènes, 1981, pp. 639-648 (malheureusement sans reproductions).

«chronographes». Il s'agit d'une littérature de traduction fondée essentiellement sur les *chroniques* de Georges le Moine et de Jean Malalas ([34]) ; bien que la présence de textes originaux vieux-russes y soit exceptionnelle, on trouve, insérées dans la seconde version du XVe siècle, certaines citations extraites d'annales russes au nombre desquelles figure la *Relation* de la Croisade.

Le texte de la *Relation* n'a jamais été publié et il ne nous est connu que par quelques fragments cités par N. A. Meščerskij et O. V. Tvorogov ; N. Meščerskij est le premier à avoir mentionné l'intérêt que pouvait présenter cette version qui, selon lui, s'appuie «de toute évidence sur un protographe qui ne nous est pas parvenu ([35])». N. Meščerskij, il est vrai, n'a pu bénéficier des travaux d'O. Tvorogov grâce auxquels nombre de questions relatives à la datation et aux sources de ce «chronographe» ont pu être élucidées ([36]). Sur les neuf manuscrits recensés et classés par O. Tvorogov, N. Meščerskij n'en a connu que trois (= BCD). O. Tvorogov a établi deux recensions du texte : la recension «Čudov» et la recension «Académique». Or, et ceci n'est pas sans importance, sur les trois manuscrits de la recension «Čudov», seul C contient la *Relation* ; elle y est précédée par une énumération des empereurs byzantins, de Nicéphore Phocas à Murzuphle ; énumération qui trouve son prolongement — d'Alexis Ange à Manuel Paléologue — dans tous les manuscrits de la recension «Académique» (= BD et cinq autres *codices*), où, cette fois, c'est la *Relation* qui la précède. O. Tvorogov en conclut que la liste des empereurs devait être identique dans les deux recensions, y compris dans l'archétype de la recension «Čudov» ([37]), mais on peut aussi en déduire que l'insertion de la *Relation* de la Croisade dans la *Chronique hellène* est postérieure au *terminus* indiqué par la mention de Manuel II Paléologue qui accède au trône en 1391. En conséquence, l'origine de sa rédaction ne peut provenir que du *Svod de 1448* ou bien de l'un des deux *svody* qui le précèdent : la continuation du *Chronicon de Sainte-Sophie*, ou bien une compilation dont le seul témoin est la *Chronique de la Trinité* (*Troickaja*

(34) Cf. Mme Irène SORLIN, *La diffusion et la transmission de la littérature chronographique byzantine en Russie prémongole du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, dans *TM*, 5, 1973, pp. 385-408.

(35) N. A. MEŠČERSKIJ, *TODRL*, p. 127 ; l'auteur ajoute : «Il n'est pas exclu que notre *povest'* (= Relation) provienne d'une source non-novgorodienne ..., un série de traits indique plutôt une origine méridionale», dans *VV*, p. 184.

(36) O. V. TVOROGOV, *Drevnerusskie xronografy*, Léningrad, 1975.

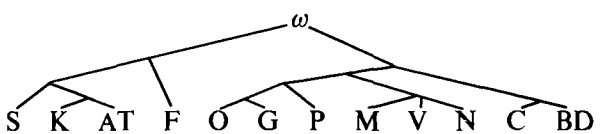
(37) *Ibidem.*, p. 119.

letopis'). Or on constate d'une part, que la Relation n'est pas attestée dans la *Chronique de la Trinité* ([38]), et d'autre part, que la confrontation des leçons de BCD et de KAT sont, pour la plupart, divergentes (cf. apparat, l. 24, 49, 80, 149 ; y compris la lacune de AT qui y est comblée ; *ibidem.*, l. 114/115-146). La conclusion qui s'impose est que la version de notre texte attestée dans la *Chronique hellène* dépend du *Svod de 1448*. Un autre argument en faveur de cette conclusion se trouve dans la présence, dans toutes les copies des chroniques issues du *Svod de 1448* — à l'exception, précisément, de F — de deux miracles, l'un sur l'Hodègètria, l'autre sur le voile de la Vierge, que l'on retrouve, exactement dans les mêmes conditions, dans les manuscrits BCD de la *Chronique hellène*. Sous réserve des surprises que peut toujours apporter la publication d'un texte qui n'est connu que fragmentairement, on est en droit de douter de l'intérêt, tout à fait particulier selon N. Meščerskij, de la version de la *Chronique hellène* qui, en tout état de cause, se rattache aux chroniques pan-russes ([39]).

*
* *

En conclusion on peut, sur une assez longue période, distinguer deux recensions principales de la *Relation* russe de la Croisade. D'une part, celle de la *Chronique de Novgorod* dont le témoin de la plus ancienne recension, le manuscrit S, donne l'état le plus proche de ce qu'il est possible d'atteindre. D'autre part, celle du *Svod de 1448* qui en dépend.

Le classement des variantes textuelles des chroniques qui dépendent du *svod de 1448* ne permet pas de préciser sur quelle recension le *Svod* se sera fondé ; en revanche, on peut observer certaines parentés dont il n'est pas sans utilité de donner une image :



(38) *Troickaja letopis'. Rekonstrukcija teksta*, éd. M. D. Priselkov, Moscou-Léningrad, 1950, *s.a.* 6712, p. 287.

(39) C'est aussi l'opinion d'O. Tvorogov qui, par d'autres arguments, parvient à la même conclusion (*Drevnerusskie xronografy*, pp. 151-158) ; l'auteur présume que c'est à une chronique «de type Sophien» que seraient empruntés les extraits de chroniques russes. Au regard de l'apparat de la *Relation*, cette appréciation peut être nuancée.

Cet arbre, dressé à partir des données de l'apparat, ne reflète pas la généalogie des manuscrits, mais leur parenté factuelle ; il a l'avantage d'illustrer les divergences — parfois importantes ([40]) — qui existent entre la généalogie des chroniques considérées dans leur entier et les rapports qui les unissent dans les limites d'un récit donné. Dans cette perspective, le point ω ne représente pas un hypothétique archétype, mais le simple aboutissement de l'ensemble des manuscrits considérés.

II. Édition et traduction

L'édition est établie à partir de S ([41]) et de douze autres manuscrits représentant sept chroniques. En raison du nombre élevé des manuscrits, l'apparat est délibérément sélectif. Ce parti est, au demeurant, conseillé aussi bien par le caractère de dépendance des recensions qu'en raison des difficultés d'accès aux manuscrits encore non publiés. Enfin, si l'intérêt de la *Relation* est certain pour les historiens, il n'en va pas de même pour les philologues.

Sauf exception, on a donc délibérément laissé de côté les variantes ne présentant pas de variantes de sens. On n'a pas retenu les variantes de vocalisation des *jers*, les variantes de pléophonie, les alternances morpho-phonologiques (slavonismes notamment) et les permutations contiguës de mots ou de syntagmes. En revanche, ces mêmes faits sont notés chaque fois qu'ils peuvent intervenir dans la compréhension du texte. En raison de leur caractère particulier, toutes les variantes disponibles de BCD ont été notées.

Une division en paragraphes de longueur inégale fondée sur la logique interne du texte a été introduite ; l'orthographe a été modernisée selon les principes en vigueur dans les publications de textes narratifs vieux-russes.

On s'est efforcé de donner une traduction la plus platement fidèle possible. Pour ce faire, quitte à commettre des lourdeurs de style, on s'est appliqué à

(40) Comparer avec Ja. S. LUR'E, *Generalogičeskaja sxema letopisej XI-XVI vv., vkljucennyx v «Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi»*, dans *TORDL*, 40, 1985, pp. 190-205 ; l'auteur y donne un véritable stemma (p. 196) fondé sur une analyse philologique et historique, ainsi qu'une abondante bibliographie.

(41) Décrit dans le *Svodnyj katalog slavjano-russkix rukopisnyx knig, xranjaščixsja v SSSR. XI-XIII vv.*, éd. S. O. ŠMIDT, Moscou, 1984, notice 270, pp. 261-263 (avec bibliographie). L'analyse paléographique montre que la *Relation* a été copiée par la main B (f. 62-118^{v}) et non «par une main indépendante de toutes les autres sections du ms.» comme l'écrit J. GORDON en tête de son article (*The Novgorod Account*, p. 297).

ne pas «devancer» la traduction au profit d'informations rendues plus clairement dans d'autres sources. Les toponymes grecs, notés phonétiquement, sont rétablis en translittération et les passages par trop elliptiques au regard de la syntaxe française sont complétés entre parenthèses.

Note sur *izremenani*

L'interprétation de cet *hapax*, enregistré par tous les lexicographes ([42]), a suscité plusieurs interprétations divergentes. Décrivant l'assaut des navires francs, le texte précise que certains étaient (des) *izremenani* (l. 102-103). N. A. Meščerskij a renoncé à en expliquer la structure et a préféré s'en remettre au témoignage de Nikètas Chôniatès qui rapporte la présence de «dromons» (*δρομώνων μὲν ἱππαγωγῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα*, van Dieten, p. 599[94]) ([43]). Cette interprétation a été rejetée par N. V. Prončatov ([44]) qui a proposé de segmenter l'*hapax* en *iz-* et une forme corrompue de *remenĭ* «courroie». Ce dernier terme devant être mis en parallèle avec la description que donne Robert de Clari des fameux «huissiers» vénitiens «couverts de (courroies) de cuir» ([45]) pour éviter le feu grégeois. Cette interprétation séduisante ne tient cependant pas compte de la chronologie ni de l'ordre d'attaque de la flotte. À cette date précise, Villehardouin écrit : «et chascune bataille si ot son naville par soi, et furent tuit *coste a coste arrangiez*» (8-9 avril) ([46]), et le jour de l'attaque : «.II. nés qui estoient *liees ensembles*» (12 avril) ([47]). La racine verbale *rem-* qui signifie précisément «ce qui fixe, une attache» ([48]) se rapporte donc ici à la configuration exacte de la «Pèlerine» et du «Paradis», vaisseaux qui avaient été liés *bord à bord* afin d'offrir une plus grande plate-forme aux échelles d'abordage.

Paris, août 1987. Sylvain PATRI.

(42) I. I. SREZNEVSKIJ, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1893-1903, t. I, col. 1077 ; G. E. KOČIN, *Materialy dlja terminologičeskogo slovarja Drevnej Rusi*, Moscou-Léningrad, 1938 ; *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.*, 6, 1979, p. 204.

(43) MEŠČERSKIJ, *TODRL*, p. 126 et *VV*, p. 176.

(44) N. V. PRONČATOV, *O značenii termina «izremenani» v Novgorodskoj pervoj letopisi*, dans *VV*, 27, 1967, pp. 325-327.

(45) ROBERT DE CLARI, *La conqueste de Constantinople*, éd. Ph. LAUER, Paris, 1924 [*infra* : CLARI], §74, p. 72.

(46) GEOFFROY DE VILLEHARDOUIN, *La conquête de Constantinople*, éd. E. FARAL, I-II, Paris, 1938-1939 [*infra* : VILLEHARDOUIN], §236, II, p. 36.

(47) *Ibidem*, §242, II, p. 44.

(48) A. VAILLANT, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*, II. Paris, 1958, §185, pp. 209-210.

SIGLES DE L'APPARAT

CODICES (cotes actuelles) ([49]).

S : GIM, *fonds de la Bibliothèque Synodale*, 786, *XIIIe-XIVe siècles, f. 64-72^v.*
K : LOII, *fonds de la Commission Archéographique*, 240, *milieu du XVe siècle.*
A : BAN, 17.8.36, *milieu du XVe siècle.*
T : GPB, *fonds Tolstoj*, Folio. IV.223, *milieu du XVIIIe siècle.*
O : CGADA, *fonds 135, rubrique 2*, n° 3, *XVe siècle.*
G : GPB, Folio. IV.211, *XVIe siècle.*
M : GIM, *fonds Uvarov*, 1366, *première moitié du XVIe siècle.*
P : LOII, *fonds de la Commission Archéographique*, 251, *milieu du XVIe siècle.*
F : GPB, *fonds Pogodin*, 1414, *début du XVIIe siècle.*
V : GPB, *fonds Bystrov*, 2, *milieu du XVIe siècle.*
N : GPB, Folio. IV.233, *milieu du XVIe siècle.*
B : BAN, 33.8.13, *dernier quart du XVe siècle.*
C : GIM, *fonds Čudov*, 51/357(7), *milieu du XVe siècle.*
D : GIM, *fonds de la Bibliothèque Syndodale*, 86, *début du XVIe siècle.*

ÉDITIONS.

S = *NPL* (1950), pp. 46-49, éd. A. N. NASONOV.
KAT = *NPL* (1950), pp. 240-246, éd. A. N. NASONOV.
OG = *PSRL*, 5^2, 1 (1925), pp. 185-189, éd. P. G. VASENKO.
M = *PSRL*, 25 (1949), pp. 101-103, éd. M. N. TIXOMIROV.
P = *PSRL*, 26 (1959), pp. 57-60, éd. V. I. BUGANOV, T. N. PROTAS'EVA et M. N. TIXOMIROV.
F = *PSRL*, 15 (1863), col. 294-300, éd. A. F. BYČKOV.
V = *PSRL*, 7 (1856), pp. 109-111, éd. A. F. BYČKOV.
N = *PSRL*, 10 (1885), col. 294-300, éd. A. F. BYČKOV.
BCD = cf. N. A. MEŠČERSKIJ, *TODRL* et *VV, passim* ; O. V. TVOROGOV, *Drevnerusskie xronografy, passim.*

(49) De même que les datations, elles diffèrent parfois de celles indiquées dans les éditions les plus anciennes. On trouvera la plupart des informations sur les transferts de fonds manuscrits et la bibliographie y afférant dans les guides de Ju. K. BEGUNOV, N. F. BEL'ČIKOV et N. P. ROŽDESTVENSKIJ, *Spravočnik-ukazatel' prečatnyx opisanii slavjano-russkix rukopisej*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1963 et de Mme Patricia K. GRIMSTED, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the USSR*, [I.] *Moscow and Leningrad*, Princeton, 1972 ; EADEM, *Idem, Supplement I : Bibliographical addenda*, Zug-Londres, 1976.

< О ВЗЯТЬИ БОГОХРАНИМАГО КОСТЯНТИНАГРАДА ОТ ФРЯГЪ >

[1] Въ лѣто ≠.S.Ѱ̃.В̃.Ї. Царствующю Ольксе въ Цесариградѣ, въ царствѣ Исаковѣ, брата своего, егоже слѣпивъ, а са|мъ цесаремь ста, а сына его Олексу затвори въ стѣнахъ высокыхъ стражею, яко не вынидеть. И временомъ минувъшемъ, и дьрзну Исакъ молитися о сыну своемь, дабы его испустилъ ис твьрди прѣдъ ся; и умоли брата Исакъ и прияста извѣщение съ сыномь, яко не помыслити на царство, и спущенъ бысть ис твьрди и хожашеть въ своеи воли. Цесарь же Олькса не печяшеся о немь, вѣря брату Исакови и сынови его, зане прияста извѣщение; и потом Исакъ помысливъ, и въсхотѣ царства, и учяшеть сына, посылая потаи, яко добро створихъ брату моему Олѣксѣ, от поганы|хъ выкупихъ его, а онъ противу зло мн̑ възда слѣпивъ мя, царство мое възя. И въсхотѣ сынъ его, якоже учашеть его, и мышляшьта, како ему изити из града въ дальняя страны и оттолѣ искати царства. f. 64v f. 65

[2] И въвѣденъ бысть въ корабль, и въсаженъ быисть въ бочку, имущи .Г. дна при единѣмь конци, за нимьже Исаковиць сѣдяше, а въ другомь конци вода, идеже гвоздъ. Нѣлзѣ бо бяше инако изити из града, и тако изиде из Грѣчьскѣи Земли. И увѣдавъ

[1] 1-3 Titulus ex B (solum modo in OGMPVNBCD) 4 ≠.S̃.Ѱ̃.В̃.Ї. : ≠.S̃.Ѱ̃.Ї.В̃. codd. || Царствующу – Цесариградѣ : Ц. въ Цариградѣ Алексею Комнину F 5 post Исаковѣ add. Аггела F || егоже слѣпивъ : transpos. AT слѣпивши его et add. стьклом in mg. K [*uide l. 160*] ослѣпивъ OMV егоже поимавъ ослѣпи et add. царствовашему ему .S̃. лѣт и мѣсяць .Ѣ. F Исаака убо ослепивъ N 5-6 а – ста om. F 6 post Олексу add. Исаковича F || стражею : и стража приставивъ AT и стража пристави и сице заповѣдавши K и стража его ту F || яко : да F 7 вынидеть : внидеть никтоже AT никтоже не внидеть зде K выити ему OGMPVN 8 дабы – ся : д. е. и. изъ таковыя твръдины и был бы предъ нимъ F 9 post Исакъ add. и выпусти Исаковича F 10 спущенъ (fortasse legendum исп- S) : испущенъ ATOGMPVN || въ : по KATOGMPVN 11 не печашеся : не печаляше KAT печаяяше (-луяше O) OGMPVN 14 яко : язъ K азъ ATOGMPVN глаголя F || ante добро add. азъ F 15 post противу add. моему добра F || слѣпивъ : ослѣпи F 16 мышляшьта : помышляаше F || како : тако, яко F

[2] 19 бысть[2] om. OGMPFVN 19-20 за – идеже om. F

<PRISE, PAR LES FRANCS, DE CONSTANTINOPLE GARDÉE DE DIEU>

[1] Année 6712. Alexis régnait à Constantinople dans l'empire de son frère Isaac qu'il avait aveuglé et dont il était devenu empereur. Il avait enfermé le fils d'Alexis, sous bonne garde, derrière de hauts murs de façon qu'il ne s'échappe pas ([50]). Du temps ayant passé, Isaac osa intercéder en faveur de son fils afin que l'empereur le fît sortir de prison et le laissât venir auprès de lui. Isaac persuada son frère, et avec son fils, ils s'engagèrent à ne plus songer au trône ; (le fils d'Isaac) fut libéré de sa prison et devint libre. L'empereur Alexis ne se souciait pas de lui, il faisait confiance à son frère Isaac et au fils de ce dernier, car ceux-ci s'étaient engagés (auprès de lui). Par la suite, ayant réfléchi, Isaac voulut le trône, et y incitait son fils en lui faisant dire secrètement : «J'ai bien agi envers mon frère Alexis, je l'ai racheté aux païens, et lui, en retour, m'a payé en mal, en m'aveuglant, et il m'a pris mon empire». Et le fils d'Isaac se mit à vouloir ce à quoi son père l'incitait, et ils se demandèrent comment il lui serait possible de quitter la ville pour des pays lointains, et, de là, briguer l'empire.

[2] (Le fils d'Isaac) fut conduit sur un navire et placé dans une barrique qui avait trois compartiments ; il se plaça dans l'un, et l'autre, où se trouvait la bonde, était plein d'eau. Il n'y avait pas d'autres moyens de sortir de la ville et ainsi il quitta le Pays Grec ([51]). L'ayant appris, l'empereur le fit recher-

(50) Isaac II est détrôné et aveuglé par Alexis III le 8 avril 1195. Au dire de NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS (VAN DIETEN, p. 452, 526), la détention de l'ancien empereur était assez libérale puisque son fils et lui pouvaient recevoir des visiteurs, et que, par ce biais, Isaac put entretenir des relations avec sa fille Irène, épouse de Philippe de Souabe.

(51) Alexis le Jeune, participant avec Alexis III à l'expédition contre Manuel Kamitzès, en profita pour s'enfuir à partir du port d'Athyra où l'attendait un bateau pisan dont le capitaine avait été soudoyé par Isaac II (NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 537).

цесарь, посла искать его, и начаша искати его въ мнозѣхъ мѣстѣхъ, и внидоша въ тъ корабль, идеже бя|шеть, и вся мѣста f. 65v
обискаша, а из бъчькъ гвозды вынимаша, и видеше воду текущю,
идоша прочь, и не обрѣтоша его.

[3] И тако изиде Исаковичь, и приде къ нѣмьчьскуму цесарю Филипови, къ зяти и къ сѣстрѣ своеи. Цесарь нѣмечьскыи посла къ папѣ въ Римъ, и тако увѣчаста, яко нѣ воевати на Цесарьградъ, нъ якоже рече Исаковиць : всь град Костянтинь хотять моего
царства, такоже посадяче его на прѣстолѣ, поидете же къ Иерусалиму въ помочь ; не въсхотять ли его, а ведете и опять къ мнѣ, а

22 post цесарь add. Алекса, яко не бысть его F 23 идеже бяшеть : гдѣ Исаковичь OGMPVN въ немже бяше Исаковичь F 23-24 и вся – обискаша : и обискавше (изыскаша G) вся OP и обискаша (обыскавше V) все OGMPVN 24 бъчькъ : бочкы OP тоѣ бочкы MVNBCD || гвозды : -дии AT -ди G -дь ATOMPVN (probante Meščerskij) || вынимаша : выимавше AT выняша OGMVN вынявше P 25 прочь om. OGMPVN || его : ничто же OGMPVN || post его add. и тако отплу корабль F

[3] 27 къ зяти : зяту своему F || къ[2] om. GMPVN || post посла add. его F 28 post тако add. его F 30 post также add. папа же посла его рекъ, Аще восхотятъ его N || посадяче : посадите N 30-32 также – Земли : онъ же посла к нимъ многы Фрязове, рек : Аще въсхотять его, то посади<те> его на царствѣ, аще ли не въсхотять, то пришлѣте его кь мне, а сами поидете кь Иерусалиму в помочь, а зла не чините нѣкоего Гречестѣи Земли et add. Исааковичь же много злато обѣша имъ дати F 31 и om. KAT

cher ; (ses gens) commencèrent à le chercher en plusieurs lieux et pénétrèrent dans le navire où il se trouvait ; ils cherchèrent partout et firent sauter les bondes, mais, voyant l'eau couler, ils s'en allèrent, sans s'en être emparés ([52]).

[3] C'est ainsi que le fils d'Isaac s'enfuit et arriva chez l'empereur allemand Philippe (c'est-à-dire) chez son beau-frère et chez sa sœur ([53]). L'empereur allemand l'envoya au pape, à Rome ([54]), et tous deux (le pape et Alexis) convainquirent ([55]) (les chefs des Croisés) de ne pas partir en guerre contre Constantinople : «Mais si, comme le dit le fils d'Isaac, (toute la ville de Constantin veut que je règne), alors, l'ayant établi sur son trône, allez porter secours à Jérusalem, mais si Constantinople ne veut pas de lui,

(52) Version différente selon NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS : Alexis s'était coupé les cheveux et déguisé en «Latin» (pp. 537-538).

(53) À Ancône ; cf. VILLEHARDOUIN, §70, I, p. 70.

(54) Sur la chronologie de l'arrivée d'Alexis en Occident, cf. QUELLER, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 31-35 ; BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, p. 228, 275-276, et surtout l'étude de J. FOLDA dont voici les principales conclusions : Alexis serait parvenu à la cour de Philippe de Souabe à la Noël 1201, puis aurait rejoint Rome vers la fin février 1202, mais le pape lui aurait refusé son aide (cf. *Epistolae Innocentii*, *PL*, 214, 1124). Peu après, Boniface de Montferrat, venu à Rome vers la mi-mars, aurait fini par emporter le consentement du souverain pontife qui aurait donné son accord pour l'expédition sous réserve de ne pas porter les armes en terre chrétienne (cf. *Epistolae*, *PL*, 214, 1178-1182 ; *Gesta Innocentii*, *Ibidem*, cap. 83 et 85). On peut donc penser que c'est à Boniface de Montferrat que serait adressée la fameuse lettre citée *infra*, n. 56. Cf. *Byzsl.*, 16, 1965, pp. 279-280, 284, 285-286.

(55) Malgré MEŠČERSKIJ (*TODRL*, p. 142 et *VV*, p. 173), il est vraisemblable que ce passage soit corrompu ; en effet, l'emploi, au duel, du verbe *uvečasti* «convaincre», ne s'accorde pas avec la suite du discours, qui, la citation d'Alexis mise à part, se rapporte exclusivement aux paroles d'Innocent III. On remarquera par ailleurs que l'assertion de FOLDA selon laquelle il n'y aurait pas de discours direct en «vieux-slave» ne peut, de toute façon, s'appliquer à notre texte (*op. cit.*, p. 285, n. 35).

пакости не деите Грѣчьскои Земли. Фрязи же и вси воеводы ихъ възлюбиша злато и срѣбро, и|же мѣняшеть имъ Исаковиць, а f. 66
цесарева велѣния забыша и папина.

[4] Пьрвое пришьдъше въ Судъ, замкы желѣзныя разбиша, и приступивъше къ граду, огнь вьвергоша .Д̃.‹›рь мѣстъ въ храмы. Тъгда цесарь Олькса, узьревъ пламень, не створи брани противу имъ. Призвавъ брата Исака, егоже слѣпи, посади его на прѣстолѣ, и рече : Даже еси, брат, тако створилъ, прости мене, а се твое царство. Избѣжа из града. И пожьженъ бысть град и церкви

33 мѣняшетъ : мняшь K in rasura A^2 / / / / / шеть ut uidetur A суляшеть T мняшеть OGP обѣщевашеть (-вать N) MVN 33-34 а цесарева – и папина : а ц. и п. наказания (благословения O казаниа M) забыша, что за Греческои Земли не створити OGPMVN

[4] 36 .Д̃.<–>рь мѣстъ : в .Д̃. мѣста KATOGMPFVN 38 post Исака add. Аггела F || post прѣстолѣ add. царстемъ F 39 Даже : Даждь AT Иже OGMPVN 40 Избѣжа : а сам бѣжа K и бѣжа AT и избѣжа OGMPVN post hanc uocem add. Алекса F || post градъ add. весь OGMPVN

renvoyez-le moi ; toutefois, ne causez pas de torts au Pays Grec ([56])». Mais les Francs et tous leurs chefs se laissèrent séduire par l'or et l'argent que leur promettait le fils d'Isaac, et ils oublièrent les ordres de l'empereur et du pape ([57]).

[4] Dès qu'ils furent arrivés dans la Corne d'Or ([58]), ils brisèrent les fermetures de fer ([59]) et, en abordant la muraille ([60]), ils mirent le feu aux demeures en quatre endroits ([61]). Alors l'empereur Alexis, voyant les flammes, ne prit pas les armes contre eux ([62]). Ayant appelé à lui son frère Isaac qu'il avait aveuglé, il le plaça sur le trône et lui dit : «Même si c'est toi, mon frère, qui as fait cela, pardonne-moi, voici ton empire». Et il s'enfuit de la

(56) Cette phrase et ce qui suit doit être mis en parallèle avec la lettre 216 d'Innocent III : «... nec invadentes terras christianorum, nec laedentes in aliquo, nisi forsan illi vestrum iter nequiter impedirent vel alia justa sive necessaria causa forsan occurreret, propter quam aliud agere intervenientes apostolicae sedis consilio valeretis» (*PL*, 214, 1180-1181). Sur cette lettre, cf. A. LUCHAIRE, *Innocent III, la question d'Orient*, Paris, 1907, pp. 113-114 ; H. ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge*, Göttingen, 1969, p. 113 *sq.*, 120 *sq.*

(57) Il semble au contraire que les propositions d'Alexis dont Philippe de Souabe se fit l'avocat furent assez mal accueillies de la part des croisés ; cf. E. FARAL ap. VILLEHARDOUIN, I, pp. 94-96, n. 3.

(58) C'est le 6 juillet (VILLEHARDOUIN, §160, I, p. 159) à neuf heures du matin (*Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, éd. HOPF, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 87), que la chaîne fut rompue par les bateaux vénitiens.

(59) Sur la configuration de l'édifice à l'époque, cf. R. GUILLAND, *La chaîne de la Corne d'Or*, dans *EEBΣ*, 25, 1955, pp. 90-92.

(60) Entre la prise de la tour de Galata, la rupture de la chaîne et l'assaut vénitien, il se passa une nuit : VILLEHARDOUIN, §159, I, p. 158. Il est toutefois possible (cf. *infra*, n. 62) que ce passage se rapporte à l'assaut du 17 juillet contre l'«échelle de l'empereur», *Ἀποβάθρα βασιλέως* ; cf. NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 544 ; R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique*[2], Paris, 1964, pp. 286-287.

(61) Cf. CLARI, §44, pp. 43-46.

(62) Le narrateur néglige (ou confond) le premier choc du 6 juillet et les combats qui eurent lieu durant le premier siège, du 11 au 16 juillet, jusqu'à la prise effective de la cité, le 17. Du côté grec, Alexis III, malgré ses faibles moyens, organisa une sortie de cavaliers pour tenter d'encercler le campement croisé, mais il regagna la cité avant même d'avoir engagé le combat ; cf. NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, pp. 544-545 ; VILLEHARDOUIN, §167-170, I, pp. 168-172.

несказьны лѣпотою, имъже не можемъ числа съповѣдати, и Святое Софие притворъ погорѣ, идеже патриарси вси написани, и Подрумье и | до моря, а семо по цесаревъ затворъ и до Суда f. 66v
погорѣ.

45 [5] И тъгда погна Исаковиць по цесари Одексѣ съ Фрягы, и не

43 затворъ : дворъ OGMPVN
[5] 45 по – Олексѣ : за царемъ Олексою F

ville ([63]). La cité et des églises d'une indicible beauté furent incendiées ; on ne peut en dire le nombre ; le narthex ([64]) de Sainte-Sophie, où sont représentés tous les patriarches brûla, de même que l'Hippodrome, et ainsi jusqu'à la mer ; et, de là, suivant le palais de l'empereur, jusqu'à la Corne d'Or (tout) brûla ([65]).

[5] Alors le fils d'Isaac et les Francs se jetèrent à la poursuite de

(63) Isaac II ne fut sorti de prison par les croisés qu'après la fuite d'Alexis III. Ce dernier quitta la ville en abandonnant femme et enfants (NIKÉTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 546).

(64) Le terme *pritvorŭ* traduit ordinairement *νάρθηξ, στοά, πραιτώριον*, etc., voire *τρίκογχος* (cf. Mme Katia GUILLOU-TCHÉRÉMISSINOFF, *Recherches sur le lexique des chroniques slaves traduites du grec au Moyen-Âge*, Paris, s. d. [exemplaires dactyl.], I, p. 205 ; voir aussi A. VAILLANT dans *Revue des études roumaines*, 7-8, 1961, pp. 317-318 et les remarques de J. ANDRÉ dans *Revue des études slaves*, 41, 1962, p. 26). ANTOINE DE NOVGOROD rapporte, lui aussi, l'existence d'un *pritvorŭ* de Sainte-Sophie où étaient représentés «les patriarches et tous les empereurs» (col. 107) ; ce lieu a été identifié par Th. WHITTEMORE (*The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul. Third preliminary Report ... 1935-1938 : The Imperial Portrait of the South Gallery*, Oxford, 1942, p. 7 et 33, n. 1) avec une galerie située au sud-ouest de l'édifice. Rien ne permet d'identifier cette galerie avec celle mentionnée par la *Relation* ; c'est pourquoi il est préférable de traduire ce terme dans son sens le plus courant de «narthex».

(65) NIKÈTAS rapporte (pp. 554-555) que, lors de l'assaut du 17 juillet, les Francs incendièrent une partie du palais patriarcal ; cf., aussi, VILLEHARDOUIN, §176, I, p. 178. Il est toutefois possible que, de nouveau, le narrateur devance les événements et que l'incendie qui est ici décrit, soit celui qui prit le 19 août aux alentours de la mosquée (voisine de Sainte-Irène de Parama), pour s'étendre depuis la Corne d'Or jusqu'à la mer, dévastant une grande partie de la ville ; cf. NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, pp. 568-569 ; VILLEHARDOUIN, §203-204, I, pp. 206-210 ; JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*[2], p. 258.

постиже его и възвратися въ градъ, и съгна отця съ прѣстола, а самъ цесаремъ ста. Ты еси слепъ, како можеши царство дьржати, азъ есмь цесарь. Тъгда Исакъ цесарь много съжаливъси о градѣ и о царствѣ своемь и о граблении‹х› манастырьскыхъ, еже даяста Фрягомъ злато и срѣбро, посуленое имъ, разболѣвъся, и бысть мнихъ, и от‹ъ›иде свѣта сего.

[6] По Исаковѣ же смерти людие на сына его въсташа про зажьжение градьное и за пограбление манастырьское. И събра‹вш›еся чернь, и волочаху добрые мужа, ду|мающе с ними, f. 67 кого цесаря поставять. И вси хотяху Радиноса, онъ же не хотяше царства, нъ кръяшеся от нихъ, измѣнивъся въ чьрны ризы, жену же его, имъше, приведоша въ Святую Софию и много нудиша ю: Повѣжь намъ, кде есть муж твои, и не сказа о мужи своемь. Потомь же яша человѣка именьмь Николу воина, и на того възложиша вѣньць бес патриарха, и ту быша с нимь въ Святѣи Софии .S̃. днии и .S̃. ночии.

47 post ста add. и сице ему рекши к и глагола P глаголя отцу F отцу же рече MVN 49 грабленин<х> sec. CD : -нии codd. || манастырьскыхъ : -рьскомъ K -рьстѣмъ OGMPFVN -ремъ V 50 злато : -та perperam Nasonov (ed. S) -то KAT || разболѣвъся : пострижеся et add. въ печали F 51 ante от<ъ>иде add. немного поболѣвъ F

[6] 54 събра<вш>еся OP : -брачеся S -брашася (et similia) codd. || чернь : чрьнии людие F || волочаху : волнующеся AT || мужа : му(*ж*) -жи leg. Nasonov (ed. S)] KAT 55 цесаря : -ремъ codd. || И : И пакы K 56 нъ : и K 56-57 жену – имъше (вземше O) transpos. F 57 post ю add. глаголюще F 58 кде : идѣже MVN || пост своемь add. ничтоже K 59 post человѣка add. его F || post воина add. нарочита K 60 быша с нимь : бысть снемъ K (probante Meščerskij) || въ om. AT в то время K

l'empereur Alexis, mais ils ne le rattrapèrent pas ([66]). Alors (le fils d'Isaac) rentra en ville, déposa son père du trône ([67]) et devint lui-même empereur. «Tu es aveugle, comment pourrais-tu régner ? L'empereur c'est moi» ([68]). Alors, l'empereur Isaac regrettant beaucoup sa ville, son trône, les monastères pillés, et l'or et l'argent promis que tous deux avaient donné aux Francs, tomba malade, se fit moine et quitta ce monde ([69]).

[6] Après la mort d'Isaac, le peuple se souleva contre son fils à cause de l'incendie de la ville et du pillage des monastères. La plèbe se réunit et entraîna de force des hommes de qualité pour tenir conseil avec eux (et savoir) quel empereur mettre sur le trône. Tous voulaient Rhadènos ([70]), mais lui ne voulait pas régner et avait changé (sa tenue) contre un vêtement noir. La plèbe se saisit de son épouse, l'amena à Sainte-Sophie et l'importuna longuement : «Dis-nous où est ton mari ?». Mais elle ne dit rien de lui. Ensuite, ils prirent un homme du nom de Nicolas ([71]), un soldat, et le couronnèrent sans le patriarche ; ils restèrent avec lui dans Sainte-Sophie six jours et six nuits.

(66) Sur cette expédition, cf. *Devastatio*, pp. 89-90 ; VILLEHARDOUIN, §201-202, I, pp. 204-206 ; NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 556. Alexis était notamment accompagné de Boniface de Montferrat.

(67) Notre texte omet de mentionner le retour d'Isaac II. Délivré par les croisés (*Devastatio*, p. 89), soutenu notamment par l'eunuque Constantin (NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, pp. 549-550), il fut (ré-)intronisé aux Blachernes ; cf. VILLEHARDOUIN, §182, I, p. 184 ; NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 550.

(68) Toutes les sources traitent de façon divergente l'arrivée d'Alexis sur le trône ; cf. FARAL ap. VILLEHARDOUIN, I, appendice III, pp. 227-229.

(69) On ne dispose pas d'autres renseignements sur la date précise de sa mort qui dut intervenir avant le 8 février ; VILLEHARDOUIN, §223, II, p. 22 : «... li prist une maladie ..., si moru».

(70) NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, dans un tout autre contexte, mentionne un sébaste du nom de Constantin Rhadènos (p. 507[59]). Notre texte est la seule source qui cite ce nom dans cet épisode.

(71) «Un jeune homme», écrit NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, qui précise que l'on s'est saisi de lui au matin du troisième jour et qu'il fut oint empereur «contre sa volonté» (p. 562). Cf., aussi, *supra*, n. 74.

[7] Цесарь же Исаковиць бяшеть въ Влахернѣ, и хотяше въвести Фрягы отаи бояръ въ град. Бояре же, увѣдавъше, утолиша цесаря, не даша ему напустити Фрягъ, рекуче : Мы с тобою есмь.
65 | Тъгда бояре, убоявъшеся въвѣдения Фрягъ, съдумавъше съ f. 67v
Мюрчюфломь, яша цесаря Исаковиця, а на Мюрчюфла вѣньчь възложиша. А Мюрчюфла бяше высадилъ ис тьмьнице Исаковиць, приялъ извѣщение, яко не искати подъ Исаковицемь царства, нъ блюсти подъ нимь.
70 Мюрчюфлъ же посла къ Николѣ и къ людьмъ въ Святую Софию : Язъ ялъ ворога вашего Исаковиця, язъ вашь цесарь, а Николѣ даю пьрвыи бъ боярехъ, – Сложи съ себе вѣньць. И вси людие не даша ему сложити вѣньця, нъ боле закляшася : Кто отступить от Николы, да будеть проклятъ. Того же дне, дож-
75 давъше ночи, разбѣгошася вси, а Николу я | ша, и жену его я f. 68
Мюрчюфлъ, и въсади я въ тьмницю, и Ольксу Исаковиця утвьрди въ стѣнехъ, а самъ цесаремь ста Мюрчюфлъ феуларя въ .Е. день, надѣяся избити Фрягы.

[8] Фрязи же уведавъше ята Исаковиця, воеваша волость около
80 города, просяче у Мюрчюфла : Даи намъ Исаковиця, от‹ь› поидемъ къ нѣмечьскуму цесарю отнележе есме послани, а тобе царство его. Мурчюфлъ же и бояре не даша его жива, и уморивъше Исаковиця, и рекоша Фрягомъ : Умьрлъ есть, придете и

[7] 62 хотяше : мышляаше K || въ om. F 63 въвести – въ град : в себѣ, како бы ввести отаи K || пост бояръ add. своих AT || увѣдавъше : утолиша цесаря AT om. OGMPVN || Бояре же – цесаря : И бояре въ градѣ томъ увѣдавъши промышление цесарево, и пакы утолиша его K || утолиша цесаря : увѣдавше его AT 64 рекуче – есмь : и ркоша : Се мы с тобою OGMPVN 66 ante Исаковиця add. Алексу F 67 post бяше add. Исаковиць K 67-68 Исаковиць – извѣщение om. K 69 нъ : нь пакы K 71 ante Язъ add. глаголя F || ялъ : изымахъ AT 72 Сложи : Никола же с. (сложивъ O) OGMVN 73 не – сложити : надаша ему служити F 75 я om. F 76 я : ю ATG ихъ MVN om. F 77 феуларя – день om. OGMPVN

[8] 79 ята : ако изимаша KAT || ante волость add. вся F 80 города : града царя F || Даи намъ om. OGMPVN || от<ь> Meščerkij : ѿ S ото Nasonov даждь K и тако AT отъ O атъ (aut ато) G да MVN и абие BCD 81-83 отнележе – Исаковиця om. P 81 отнележе : и к царю нашему отнуду же AT 82 и^2 om. MVN 83 рекоша : глаголаша F || ante Умьрлъ add. яко F

[7] Cependant, l'empereur, fils d'Isaac, se tenait aux Blachernes et voulait introduire les Francs dans la ville à l'insu des dignitaires. L'ayant appris, les dignitaires convainquirent l'empereur et ne le laissèrent pas faire entrer les Francs dans la ville en disant : «Nous sommes avec toi». Alors, comme les dignitaires avaient craint l'entrée des Francs, ils se concertèrent avec Murzuphle, saisirent l'empereur fils d'Isaac et couronnèrent Murzuphle ([72]). Or, Murzuphle avait été libéré de prison par le fils d'Isaac et avait donné l'assurance qu'il ne briguerait pas l'empire du fils d'Isaac, mais le soutiendrait ([73]).

Murzuphle envoya (faire dire) à Nicolas et aux gens qui étaient à Sainte-Sophie : «Je me suis saisi de votre ennemi le fils d'Isaac ; je suis votre empereur ; à Nicolas, je donne le titre de premier parmi les dignitaires, – dépose ta couronne !». Ce même jour, ayant attendu la nuit, tous se dispersèrent, et Nicolas fut pris ([74]). Murzuphle se saisit de son épouse et les enferma en prison, il emprisonna aussi Alexis, le fils d'Isaac, et devint lui-même empereur, le cinquième jour de février ([75]), espérant vaincre les Francs.

[8] Les Francs, eux, apprenant la capture du fils d'Isaac, ravagèrent les territoires des environs de la ville ([76]) et exigèrent de Murzuphle : «Rends-nous le fils d'Isaac afin que nous retournions chez l'empereur allemand par qui nous sommes envoyés, et toi tu auras son empire». Comme Murzuphle et tous les dignitaires avaient fait périr le fils d'Isaac, ils ne le rendirent pas vivant ; ils dirent aux Francs : «Il est mort, venez et voyez-le» ([77]). Alors les

(72) NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS qui est, à ce moment, notre seule source d'information, rapporte les faits dans cet ordre : Murzuphle, qui depuis sa libération n'avait eu de cesse d'agiter les esprits contre Alexis IV, réussit à convaincre les dignitaires de faire jeter le jeune empereur en prison (p. 563) ; sur ces événements, cf. QUELLER, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 130 sq.

(73) Libéré de prison à l'arrivée des croisés, Murzuphle reçut le titre de «protovestiarite» (AKROPOLITÈS, éd. Heisenberg, I, pp. 7-8 ; D. I. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, Londres, 1968, notice 126, pp. 145-147) des mains du jeune empereur qui, selon CLARI (§52, p. 53), en fit son «maistre bailliu».

(74) Et décapité, ajoute la *Devastatio*, p. 91.

(75) Notre texte est la seule source à préciser cette date.

(76) Sur ces combats, cf. VILLEHARDOUIN, §226 *sq.*, II, p. 24 *sq.* ; NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 567 *sq.*

(77) Murzuphle tenta par deux fois d'empoisonner Alexis avant de le faire étrangler ; cf. NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 564 *sq.* ; VILLEHARDOUIN, §223, II, p. 22.

видите и. Тъгда же Фрязи печяльни бывъше за прѣслушание свое,
не тако бо бѣ казалъ имъ цесарь нѣмѣ|чьскыи и папа римьскыи, f. 68v
якоже си зло учиниша Цесарюграду, сами к собе вси : Оже намъ нѣту Исаковиця, с нимьже есме пришли, да луче ны есть умрети у Цесаряграда, нежели съ срамомь от‹ъ›ити. Оттоль начаша строити брань къ граду.

[9] И замыслиша якоже и прѣже на кораблихъ раями на шыглахъ, на иныхъ же кораблихъ исъциниша порокы и лѣствиця, а на инѣхъ замыслиша съвѣшивати бъчькы чересъ град, наклади-ены смолины и лучины зажыъше, пустиша на хоромы, якоже и прѣже пожьгоша градъ.

И приступиша къ граду априля въ .Θ̃. день, въ пятъкъ .Ѣ̃. недѣли Поста, и не успѣша ничьтоже граду, нъ Фрягъ и|збиша близъ .Р̃. f. 69 муж.

И стояша ту Фрязи .Г̃. дни, и въ понедѣльникъ вербнои недѣли приступиша къ граду, солнчю въсходящю, противу Святому

84 post видите add. и даша имъ тѣло мертво Исаковича F || и om. OGMPFVN || post Фрязи add. видѣвше F || прѣслушание : преступление OGMPVN || post свое add. яко не по повелению створиша царя своего F 86 post Цесарюграду add. приступивше заповѣдь цареву и папину F || ante сами add. и рѣша KATOGMPFVN 87 ante нѣту add. нынѣ F || умрети : здѣ умрѣти пришли есми F 88 съ – отъити : съ страхомъ о. и срамомъ OGMVN съ страхомъ OP || Оттоль : И се пакы отселѣ AT И оттолѣ MVN 89 граду : Царюграду F

[9] 90 и^{2} om. F || раями : раинами KAT раими OGMVN ракми P 91 исъциниша : пристроиша AT 95 И om. F || день om. OF || post Θ̃. add. на память святаго мученика Еипсихия F 95-96 въ^{2} – Поста om. OGMPVN 96 post избиша add. цареградци болѣ ста мужии F

Francs s'affligèrent de ce qu'ils avaient désobéi ; ce n'était pas de telles instructions que l'empereur allemand et le pape de Rome leur avaient données, mais de ne pas causer de tort à Constantinople. Ils se dirent alors tous : «Comme nous n'avons pas le fils d'Isaac avec qui nous sommes venus, plutôt mourir à Constantinople que s'en retourner dans la honte» ([78]). Dès lors, ils commencèrent à préparer les opérations militaires contre la ville ([79]).

[9] Ainsi qu'auparavant, (les Francs) imaginèrent de fixer des vergues sur les mâts de leurs navires, sur d'autres ils mirent en place des béliers et des échelles, et sur d'autres encore ils imaginèrent des tonneaux remplis de poix pour les faire descendre par-dessus la muraille ; ils en allumèrent les mèches et les lancèrent sur les maisons. Ainsi qu'auparavant, ils incendièrent la ville ([80]).

Ils donnèrent l'assaut le neuvième jour d'avril, le vendredi de la cinquième semaine du Carême ([81]), mais ils ne purent rien contre la muraille, et une centaine d'entre eux furent tués.

Ils restèrent là trois jours, et le lundi de la semaine des Rameaux ([82]), au lever du soleil, ils attaquèrent face (au monastère) du Saint-Sauveur appelé

(78) Cette phrase présente le plus grand intérêt parce qu'on en trouve un écho presque identique chez CLARI : «miex nous vient morir en desfendant que fuiant», §66, p. 66. Sur ce point de la mentalité des croisés, cf. P. ROUSSET, *Un problème de méthodologie : l'événement et sa perception*, dans *Mélanges René Crozet*, I. Poitiers, 1966, pp. 320-321.

(79) Il y eut auparavant une entrevue entre Dandolo et Murzuphle dont NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS (pp. 567-568) et BAUDOUIN DE FLANDRES (*PL*, 215, 449-450) donnent une version contradictoire.

(80) Cf. VILLEHARDOUIN, §236, II, p. 36 ; CLARI, §68, pp. 68-69 ; NIKÈTAS CHÔNIATÈS, p. 590. Le premier assaut eut lieu le jeudi 8 avril 1204. Sur les tactiques d'attaque vénitiennes et la composition de la flotte de 1204, cf. M. MOLLAT, *Problèmes navals de l'histoire des croisades*, dans *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 10, 1967, pp. 353-355 ; ROBERTO DI CLARI, *La conquista di Constantinopoli*, trad. Mme Anna-Maria NADA PADRONE, Gênes, 1972, p. 202, n. 74-76 (bibliographie).

(81) Date confirmée par tous les auteurs ; cf. FARAL ap. VILLEHARDOUIN, II, p. 39, n. 1.

(82) Le lundi 12 avril 1204, date également confirmée par tous les auteurs ; cf. FARAL, apud VILLEHARDOUIN II, p. 43, n. 1.

Спасу зовемыи Вергетисъ, противу Испигасу, сташа же и до Лахерны.

Приступиша же на .М̃. кораблвъ великыхъ, бяху † изременани † межи ими, въ нихъже людье на конихъ, одени въ брѣне и коне ихъ. Инии же корабле ихъ и галѣе ихъ стояху назаде, боящеся зажьжения, якоже и прѣже бяхуть Грьци пустили на не .Й̃. кораблевъ съ огнѣмь, и въ пряхъ извременивъше погодье вѣтра, на Василиевъ день полуноци, и не успеша ничтоже фрязьскымъ кораблемъ, вѣсть бо имъ бяше далъ И|саковиць, а f. 69v Грькомъ повеле пус‹ти›ти на корабле на не, тѣмь же и не погорѣша Фрязи.

[10] И тако бысть възятие Цесаряграда Беликого. И привлеце корабль къ стенѣ градьнѣи вѣтръ, и быша скалы ихъ великыя чрѣсъ град, а нижьнее скалы равно забороломъ, и бьяхуть съ высокыхъ скалъ на градѣ Грькы и Варягы каме-

100 противу Испигасу om. OGMPVN || post же add. ему и до <В>лохерны F 102 Приступиша же : Сице бо они приступивше AT || кораблвъ Meščerskij (uide lin. 106) : -бль въ Nasonov -блевъ AT -блехъ (uel similia) KOGMPVN || бяху : б. бо корабли тъ AT б. же KOGMPVN || изременани : -нени OP -нана F и зременани (distinguit Tixomirov) M 103 одени – брѣне : бъ оружьи, еше же K облъчени бо суще въ брѣня AT 104 post ихъ[3] add. оболчени въ брони K || Инии – назаде : И. же стояху в кораблех и в галѣлеях (галиахъ A ганаахъ T) стояху назади (съзади AT) KAT И. же стояху в кораблихъ и в галѣяхъ OGMPVN 105 боящеся : биющеся KAT || и om. F 106 съ огнѣмъ om. P || пряхъ (nonne въ пряхъ legendum ?) : въпрагъ A впрагъ T Фрягъ OMVN Фрягы GP 108 вѣсть – далъ : наказал бо (add. бяше G) их (add. бяше OP) преже OGMPVN 109 пус<ти>ти : пусти S 108-111 а Грькомъ – Велико<го> om. MVN 108-110 а Грькомъ – Фрязи om. OGP 109-110 погорѣша : погрѣшиша AT

[10] 111 Велико<го> Meščerskij : -ко S -каго KATMFVN om. OGP 111-112 И привлеце – вѣтръ : И Фрязи привлекоша (transpos. MVN) корабли свои подъ стѣну вѣтромъ (вѣтры MVN) OGMPVN 112-113 быша – равно : бяху бо кораблены стѣны устроены великы, выше забралъ градныхъ, и присягаху черезъ градъ, а ныжныа стѣны F 113 чрѣсъ град : яко чрезъ град видѣти AT || нижьнее : нѣжняя K || забороломъ : съ забралы KAT съ забралами OGMPFVN 114 градѣ : град KATOMPFVN 114-115 камениемь cum hac uoce, duobus fol. deficientibus, des. textus A post hanc uocem usque ad lin. 146 deficit T

Évergétès ([83]), en face d'Eis Pègas ([84]), et prirent position jusqu'aux Blachernes.

Ils donnèrent l'assaut sur quarante grands navires, parmi lesquels certains étaient liés deux à deux ; sur ces vaisseaux, il y avait des hommes à cheval, en armure, comme leurs montures. Ils avaient laissé en retrait leurs autres vaisseaux et leurs galères, craignant qu'on ne les brûlât, ainsi qu'auparavant, lorsque les Grecs avaient lancé dix vaisseaux à feu ([85]). Ils avaient levé les voiles au vent favorable, à minuit, la nuit de la Saint-Basile, mais ne purent causer aucun dommage aux vaisseaux francs. En effet, le fils d'Isaac avait ordonné aux Grecs de lancer leurs navires en même temps qu'il en avisait les Francs ; c'est pourquoi ceux-ci ne brûlèrent pas.

[10] Et voici comment fut prise Constantinople la Grande. Le vent poussa un des navires jusqu'à la muraille de la cité, et ils y accolèrent de grandes échelles, plus hautes que les murs, et de plus petites, à la hauteur des

(83) *Μονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου* ; cf. R. JANIN, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, III. *Les églises et les monastères*[2], Paris, 1969 (La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, 1), pp. 508-510 [*infra* : JANIN, *Églises et monastères*].

(84) Phonétiquement : *εἰς Πηγὰς*, forme que l'on retrouve chez ANTOINE DE NOVGOROD (col. 159, 160), qui emploie aussi *Ispiganïskaja strana* «le quartier d'*εἰς Πηγὰς*» (col. 58). En fait, le quartier des Pégées, *αἱ Πηγαί* ; cf. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*[2], pp. 463-464 et, *supra*, n. 18. Malgré la symétrie, il n'y a pas lieu d'identifer ces toponymes avec la *Μονὴ τοῦ Θεοτόκου τῆς Εὐεργέτιδος* située dans le quartier de Pégé, *ἡ Πηγή*, de la banlieue de Thrace, donc à l'opposé des combats ; cf. JANIN, *Églises et monastères*[2], pp. 178-184, 558 et *Constantinople byzantine*[2], pp. 451-452.

(85) Le narrateur rappelle ici la tentative infructueuse des Grecs qui, le 1er janvier 1204, avaient tenté d'incendier la flotte des croisés en jetant dix-sept brûlots (cf. *Devastatio*, pp. 90-91).

ниемь и стрѣлами и сулицами, а съ нижьнихъ на градъ сълѣзоша, и тако възяша градъ.

[11] Цесарь же Мюрчюфолъ крѣпляше бояры и все люди, хотя ту брань створити съ Фрягы, и не послушаша его, побѣгоша от него вси. Цесарь же побеже от нихъ, и угони е на Коньнемь Тьргу, и много жалова на бояры и на все люди. Тъгда же цесарь избеже изъ | града, и патриархъ и вси бояре. f. 70

[12] И внидоша въ градъ Фрязи вси, априля въ. .В̃.І̃. день, на святаго Василия Исповѣдника, въ понедѣльникъ, и сташа на мѣсте, идеже стояше цесарь грьчьскыи, у Святаго Спаса, и ту сташа и на ночь. Заутра же, солнчю въсходящю, вънидоша въ Святую Софию, и одьраша двьри и расѣкоша, а онболъ окованъ бяше всь сребромь, и столпы сребрьные .В̃.І̃., а .Д̃. кивотьныя, и

115 post сулицами add. и самострѣлы F || post нижьнихъ add. скаль F || сълѣзоша : възлезоша OG взыдоша MPVN 116 градъ : Царьградъ OGMPFVN

[11] 118 ту om. F || побѣгоша : и от- K но от- OGMPFVN 119 нихъ : Фрягъ MVN || угони : -ниша K || е : своихъ MVN и coni. Meščerskij 120 много : -га perperam Nasonov (ed. S) 121 бояре : люди OGMPVN post hanc uocem add. и вси люди F

[12] 122-123 априля – понедѣльникъ om. OGMPVN 123 въ понедѣльникъ om. F 124-125 у – въсходящю : и (om. P) въсходящу солнцю OGMPVN 125 post въсходящю add. въ вторникъ врьбныи F

créneaux. À partir des hautes échelles, ils lancèrent des pierres, des flèches et des lances sur les Grecs et les Varègues de la muraille. À partir des petites, ils descendirent sur les remparts, et ainsi prirent la ville.

[11] L'empereur Murzuphle, de son côté, confortait les dignitaires et tous ses gens, car il voulait combattre les Francs, mais ils ne l'écoutèrent pas et tous l'abandonnèrent. Alors l'empereur s'enfuit devant (les Francs) et rattrapa les siens à l'Hippodromion ([86]) ; il admonesta vivement les dignitaires et tous ses gens. L'empereur s'enfuit, ainsi que le patriarche et tous les dignitaires.

[12] Tous les Francs entrèrent dans la ville, le douzième jour d'avril ([87]), en la fête de saint Basile le Confesseur ([88]), le lundi. Ils prirent position là même où s'était tenu l'empereur grec, au Saint-Sauveur, et y campèrent pour la nuit ([89]). Le lendemain, au lever du soleil, ils entrèrent dans Sainte-Sophie, arrachèrent les revêtements des portes ([90]) et les brisèrent, ainsi que l'ambon ([91]), qui était tout entier recouvert d'argent, et douze colonnes d'argent

(86) Sous le même vocable, ANTOINE DE NOVGOROD (col. 107), désigne l'hippodrome privé du Grand Palais : *τὸ Ἱπποδρόμιον*. Ce lieu était celui où se tenaient certaines assemblées de dignitaires ; cf. R. GUILLAND, *Études sur le Grand Palais de Constantinople : l'Hippodrome couvert, ὁ σκεπαστὸς Ἱππόδρομος*, dans *Byzsl.*, 19, 1958, pp. 30, 43, 47-55 ; VILLEHARDOUIN (§243, II, p. 46) écrit que Murzuphle s'enfuit de la colline du Pantèponte au Boucoléon, mais la version de notre texte semble plus plausible.

(87) Le lundi de la Passion, 12 avril 1204, date confirmée ; cf. FARAL ap. VILLEHARDOUIN,II, p. 43, n. 1.

(88) En fait saint Basile de Parion, dont la fête tombait à Byzance le 12 avril ; cf. V. GRUMEL, *La chronologie*, p. 323 ; *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, éd. H. DELEHAYE, Bruxelles, 1908, 597[19]. Le narrateur confond les deux Basile puisque, contrairement à ce qu'écrit FREYDANK (*Byzsl.*, 29, 1968, p. 344, n. 26), la fête du «Confesseur» (*Ispovědnikŭ/ὁ ὁμολογητής*) tombait, du moins à Sainte-Sophie, le 27 ou le 28 février : *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, I. *Le cycle des douze mois*, éd. J. MATÉOS, Rome, 1962, pp. 240-241.

(89) Murzuphle se tenait sur un promontoire proche de la *Μονὴ <τοῦ Χριστοῦ> τοῦ Παντεπόπτου* ; cf. JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, pp. 513-515.

(90) Selon la *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Ἁγίας Σοφίας* [*infra* : *Diègèsis*], éd. Th. PREGER, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, I. Leipzig, 1901, §16, p. 94, les portes étaient «tout entières habillées d'argent» (trad. G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, Paris, 1984, p. 204 ; cf. aussi le commentaire, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245).

(91) L'ambon fut refait «avec des matériaux ordinaires : pierres et colonnes à revêtement d'argent, plaques d'argent, voiles, cadres d'argent» (*Diègèsis*, p. 105 ; trad. DAGRON, p. 209). ANTOINE DE NOVGOROD (col. 62-64) dit qu'il était en cristal (*krustalĭ/ κρύσταλλος*).

тябло исѣкоша, и .В̃.І̃. креста, иже надъ олтаремь бяху, межи ими шишкы, яко дрѣва вышьша муж, и прѣграды олтарьныя межи
130 стълпы, а то все сребрьно. И тряпезу чюдьную одьраша драгыи камень и велии жьньчюгъ, а саму | невѣдомо камо ю дѣша. И.М̃. f. 70v
кубъковъ великыхъ, иже бяху прѣдъ олтаремь, и понекадѣла и свѣтилна сребрьная, яко не можемъ числа повѣдати, съ праздьничьными съсуды бесцѣньными поимаша. Служебьное
135 еуангелие и хресты честьныя, иконы бесцѣныя все одраша. И подъ тряпезою кръвъ наидоша .М̃. кадие чистаго злата, а на

128 табло codd. : тягло S 129 муж : мужа OGMPVN 133 повѣдати : ис- KOGMPVN 136 кръвъ : скровище MVN съкровища et add. многолѣтное съкровенно издавно F

massif ([92]), dont quatre supportaient des icônes encadrées ([93]). Ils brisèrent la regula et les douze croix qui dominaient le sanctuaire ([94]) et entre lesquelles se trouvaient des pommes de pin, qui se dressaient comme des arbres plus hauts qu'un homme. Le chancel du sanctuaire, l'autel entre les colonnes ([95]), tout cela était fait d'argent. Ils arrachèrent de l'autel merveilleux les pierres splendides et les grosses perles ; quant à l'autel lui-même, on ne sait où ils l'ont mis. Ils s'emparèrent de quarante grands vases qui étaient devant le sanctuaire, ainsi que de candélabres et de lampes d'argent ; on ne peut en dire le nombre. Ils volèrent aussi d'inestimables vases de fête. L'évangéliaire, les croix vénérables, les icônes sans prix, ils dépouillèrent tout cela. Au-dessous de l'autel, ils trouvèrent une cachette ([96]) (qui contenait) quarante tonnelets d'or pur. Dans les tribunes ([97]), les murs ([98]), et le

(92) La *Diègèsis* (§28) confirme que les colonnes étaient plaquées de feuilles d'argent. Leur nombre ne semble pas précisé par ailleurs.

(93) Les autres sources ne précisent pas le nombre et l'emplacement exact des icônes ; sur le sens de *kivotū* (de *κιβωτός*), cf. Martine ROTY, *Dictionnaire russe-français des termes en usage dans l'Église russe*[2], Paris, 1983, p. 52 et figure.

(94) Cette configuration est confirmée par plusieurs auteurs ; cf. JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, p. 465.

(95) Sur l'autel, cf. *Diègèsis*, §17 *passim* ; sur la traduction de *dragyj* par «splendide», cf. A. POPPE, *The Building of the Church of Saint-Sophia in Kiev*, dans *Journal of Medieval History*, 7, 1981, p. 58, n. 84. Les «grosses perles» sont les *ξάμβακες* dont KÉDRÈNOS (Bonn, I, pp. 623-624) dit qu'elles sont «particulièrement grosses, blanches et éclatantes» (voir DAGRON, p. 241, n. 136).

(96) Il faut sans doute identifier cette «cachette» avec le *χωνευτήριον* (cf. L. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque*, Paris, 1895, p. 166), bassin où on lavait les vases sacrés. Dans les sources se rapportant à Sainte-Sophie, ce dispositif est aussi appelé *θάλασσα* (encore *θαλασσίδιον*) ; cf. D. I. PALLAS, *Ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, Athènes, 1952, pp. 39-40 ; DAGRON, p. 243, n. 142.

(97) Le terme *polati* (plur. tant.) qui traduit ordinairement *ὑπερῶα, γυναικεῖα, ἔμβολοι τῆς γυναικονίτιδος*, etc., est ici d'interprétation délicate ; cf. SAVVAITOV ap. ANTOINE DE NOVGOROD ; A. POPPE, *Materiały do słownika terminów budownictva staroruskiego X-XV w.*, Wrocław-Varsovie-Cracovie, 1962, pp. 56-57 ; DAGRON, p. 220, n. 36.

(98) Cf. *Anonyme de Mercati* : Totum templum sanctae Sophiae mixtum est cum sacris reliquiis sanctorum ... Similiter et totum tectum et in altari *et in parietibus*», éd. K. N. CIGGAAR, *Une description de Constantinople par un pèlerin anglais*, dans *REB*, 34, 1976, p. 249[107-111].

полатѣхъ и въ стѣнахъ и въ съсудохранильници невѣде колико злата и сребра, яко нету числа, и бесцѣньныхъ съсудъ.

[13] то же всѣ въ единои Софии сказахъ, а Святую Богородицю, иже въ Влахѣрнѣ, идеже Святыи Духъ съхожаше на вся пятницѣ, и ту одраша, инѣ|хъ же церквии не можеть человѣкъ f. 71 сказати, яко бещисла.

Дигитрию же чюдьную, иже по граду хожаше, святую Богородицю, съблюде ю Богъ добрыми людьми, и ныне есть, на нюже надѣемъся.

Иные церкви въ градѣ и вънѣ града, и манастыри въ градѣ и вънѣ града, пограбиша все, имъже не можемъ числа ни красоты ихъ сказати.

Черньче же и чернице и попы облупиша, и нѣколико ихъ избиша. Грькы же и Варяфы изгнаша изъ града, иже бяхуть остали.

[14] Се же имена воеводамъ ихъ :

[13] 139 Софии сказахъ : сказахъ церкви, в Святеи Софии F 141 и – одраша om. F 142 сказати : исповѣдати MPVN 143 post же add. святую икону Пречистыя F 146 манастыри : в манастырехъ KT ab hac uoce textum denuo habet (*uide lin. 114-115*) T 146-147 въ^2 – града om. KOGMPVN 147 post все add. и всяку святыну F 148 сказати : повѣдати F 149-150 Черньче – избыша : и люди и многое множество побиша и ограбиша OGMPVN 149 облупиша : обоимаша BCD 150-151 бяхуть остали : бяху ся о. и перехоронили F

trésor ([99]), ils trouvèrent une telle quantité d'or et d'argent qu'on ne peut la dénombrer ; ils trouvèrent aussi des vases sans prix.

[13] Tout ce que je relate ne se rapporte qu'à la seule Sainte-Sophie, mais ils dépouillèrent aussi l'église de la Sainte Mère de Dieu des Blachernes ([100]), là où l'Esprit Saint descendait tous les vendredis ([101]), ainsi que d'autres églises que nul ne pourrait citer tant elles étaient innombrables.

Par les mains d'hommes de bien ([102]), le Seigneur sauva l'Hodègètria miraculeuse, la sainte Mère de Dieu, que l'on menait à travers la ville ([103]) ; elle y est encore maintenant, et nous plaçons notre espérance en elle.

Ils dévastèrent d'autres églises, dans la ville et en dehors, et des monastères, dans la ville et en dehors ; on ne peut en dire le nombre ni la beauté.

Ils dépouillèrent les moines, les moniales, les prêtres, et en tuèrent quelques-uns. Ils expulsèrent de la cité les Grecs et les Varègues qui y étaient restés.

[14] Voici les noms de leurs chefs :

(99) Le terme russe est un calque de *σκευοφυλάκιον* ; cf. F. DIRIMTEKIN, *Le* skevophylakion *de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, dans *REB*, 19, 1961, pp. 390-400 (= *Mélanges R. Janin*).

(100) *Θεοτόκος τῶν βλαχερνῶν* ; cf. JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, pp. 161-171.

(101) C'est devant la Vierge (orante) des Blachernes «*βλαχερνίτισσα*», que se produisait ce qu'ANNE COMNÈNE (*Alexiade*, 13, 1, 2 = LEIB, III, p. 86[18]) a appelé le «miracle habituel», *τὸ συνήθες θαῦμα* ; cf. V. GRUMEL, *Le «miracle ordinaire» de Notre-Dame des Blachernes*, dans *EO*, 30, 1931, pp. 141-142, qui constate que notre texte est, chronologiquement, la dernière source à faire mention du miracle. G. P. MAJESKA (*Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington, 1984, p. 331) suppose qu'après 1204, la dévotion populaire a pu se transporter en l'église de la *Θεοτόκος τὰ Κύρου*.

(102) Dans le contexte russe, la locution *dobrie ljudie* désigne une catégorie sociale déterminée, celle des «Gens» dont une variété de déterminants précise la hiérarchie ; cf. K. RAHBEK-SCHMIDT, *Soziale Terminologie in russischen Texten des frühen Mittelalters (bis zum Jahre 1240)*, Copenhague, 1964, §140, pp. 255-257. R. JANIN (*Églises et monastères*, pp. 199-200) signale que les porteurs s'appelaient *ὁδηγοί*, mais il ne semble pas que l'on dispose de renseignements sur leur statut social.

(103) La procession qui partait de l'église de la *Θεοτόκος τῆς Παντανάσσης* est très souvent décrite par les voyageurs russes ; cf. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 362-363.

.Ã. Маркосъ от Рима, въ градѣ Бърне, идеже бе жилъ поганыи злыи Дедрикъ.

155 А .B̃.‹-›и кондофъ от Фланъдръ.

А .Г̃. дужь слепыи от | Маркова острова, Венедикъ. Сего дужа f. 71v
слѣпилъ Мануилъ цесарь, мнози бо философи моляхуться чесареви : Аще сего дужа отпустиши съдрава, тъ много зла створить твоему царству. Царь же не хотя его убити, повелѣ очи ему
160 слѣпити стькломь, и быста очи ему яко невреженѣ, нъ не видяше ничего же. Сь же дужь много брании замышляше на град, и вси его послушаху, и корабли его белиции бяхуть, с нихъже градъ възяша.

[15] Стоянья же фряжьска у Цесаряграда от декабря до априля
165 доколь городъ възяшь. А мѣсяця маия въ .Θ̃. поставиша цесаря

[14] 153 ante .Ã. Маркосъ add. .Ã. Маркосъ отъ Рима, .B̃. кондо Фларенть от Рима града Бернь, .Г̃. дуж слѣпи. Инако же тѣже воеводы пишетъ F 154 Дедрикъ : Федрикъ T Дердикъ MVN Декрикъ F 155 коидофъ от Фланъдръ : к. Офл. Nasonov OGVPF 156 post острова add. того же острова K острова же T 157 post цесарь add. греческыи F 158 ante Аще add. глаголюще, Царю F 160 стькломь : стыслом P || ему ако KTOGMPVN 161 брании : зла P post hanc uocem add. и козни F || град : Царьградъ MPVN 162 град : и градъ T Царьградъ OGPV Царьгород MN

[15] 165 ante мѣсяця add. Въ лѣто ≠.S.Ѱ.Ї.B̃. F || post Θ̃ add. (день F) святого пророка Исаия KF et add. и в тои же день святаго отца нашего Николы принесение честных мощеи его K

Le premier était le marquis de Rome ([104]), de la ville de Vérone ([105]), là où vivait le mauvais païen Théodoric ([106]).

Le second était le comte de Flandres ([107]).

Le troisième était le doge ([108]) aveugle de l'île Saint-Marc, un vénitien.

Ce doge fut aveuglé par l'empereur Manuel ([109]). En effet, de nombreux sages avaient dit à l'empereur que s'il renvoyait le doge sain et sauf, celui-ci apporterait beaucoup de mal à l'empire. L'empereur ne voulut pas le tuer et ordonna qu'on l'aveuglât avec du verre ; ses yeux paraissaient intacts, mais ils ne voyaient rien. Ce doge avait conçu de nombreuses guerres contre la ville, tous lui obéissaient, et c'est avec les grands vaisseaux qui lui appartenaient que la ville fut prise.

[15] Les Francs se tinrent devant Constantinople de décembre à avril, jusqu'à ce que la ville fût prise. Au mois de mai, le neuvième jour, ils

(104) Le marquis Boniface de Montferrat ; son titre, *markosŭ*, est un emprunt d'origine romane ; cf. it. *marchese*, frç. *marquis* ; une origine germanique (*Margraf*) est exclue.

(105) Vérone, dont le nom allemand était *Bern*.

(106) Sur la mention de Théodoric de Berne, héros de la *þiðreks Saga af Bern* (éd. H. Bertelsen, Copenhague, 1905-1911), cf., en dernier lieu, I. É. KLEJNENBERG, *'Dedrik Bernskij' v Novgorodskoj pervoj letopisi*, dans *Letopisi i xroniki 1973*, 1974, pp. 129-136.

(107) Le comte Baudouin de Flandres. Son titre, *kondo[fŭ]*, est, lui aussi, d'origine romane ; cf. it. *conte*, *conto* ; l'hypothèse d'une provenance germanique est à rejeter (cf. *Graf*).

(108) Enrico Dandolo. La titulature est empruntée à ital. *doge*, *duca*, à l'exclusion de toute autre source : le grec *δοῦξ* a donné en v. russe *duksŭ*, et l'allemand *Herzog* est impossible.

(109) Il est intéressant de signaler que l'attribution de la cécité du doge à la perfidie byzantine est une invention de l'historiographie de la «Sérénissime» ; cf. A. CARILE, art. «Dandolo», *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, Munich-Zurich, 1984, III, col. 491-492.

своего Латина кондо Фларенда своими пискупы, и власть | собе f. 72 раздѣлиша : цесареви град, а Маркосу судъ, а дужеви десятина.

[16] И тако погыбе царство Богохранимаго Костянтиняграда и Земля Грьчьская въ свадѣ цесаревъ.

Еюже обладають Фрязи.

166 Латина : родом латинина, именем K 167 цесареви : цареви конда Фларенду F

[16] Костянтиняграда : Константина града KOGMPVN.

établirent comme empereur un de leurs Latins, le comte de Flandres ([110]) et ils divisèrent le pouvoir ([111]) entre eux : la cité à l'empereur, la magistrature ([112]) au marquis et la dîme ([113]) au doge.

[16] Voilà comment, par la discorde des empereurs, périrent l'empire de Constantinople gardé de Dieu et le Pays Grec.

Les Francs le dominent.

(110) Baudouin fut élu le dimanche 9 mai 1204. Son couronnement impérial en Sainte-Sophie eut lieu le dimanche suivant, 16 mai.

(111) Vieux russe *vlastĭ* (ou *volostĭ*). Ce terme admet deux sens : «pouvoir» et «étendue territoriale (sur laquelle un pouvoir s'exerce)».

(112) Dans ce contexte, le mot *sudŭ* peut se traduire par «jugement» ou par «Corne d'Or». Bien que les sources ne fassent pas précisément état de compétences judiciaires attribuées à Boniface, c'est sans doute dans ce sens que ce terme doit être compris.

(113) En vieux-russe, *desjatina* désigne aussi bien le «dixième» d'un ensemble quelconque que l'imposition calculée sur la même base. Bien que FREYDANK (*Byzsl.*, 29, 1968, p. 344), DIETZE (*Die Erste Novgoroder Chronik*, p. 83, et 589, n. 97) et SREZNEVSKIJ (*Materialy*, I, col. 658) optent pour la seconde solution, il convient de souligner que les documents diplomatiques (traité de Nolis, *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae*) ne font pas mention d'un droit de prélèvement fiscal attribué au doge. D'autre part, la traduction de ce terme par «Dixième», *τὸ Δέκατον*, quartier de la banlieue de Thrace (cf. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*^{2}, p. 445), reste aussi problématique.

CHRONIQUE

CHRONIQUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE

Constantinople [1]

Robert G. OUSTERHOUT, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul.* Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1988. 1 vol. 22 × 28,5 cm, XIV-157 pp., 167 figg. sur 118 pll. (DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES. 25). Prix : 40 $.

Un ouvrage sur l'architecture de la Kariye Camii avait été prévu pour prendre la suite des 4 volumes que P. Underwood avait consacrés à ce monument prestigieux ; mais le projet fut abandonné à la suite de la mort de notre regretté confrère en 1968. C'est cette lacune que vient combler, de la manière la plus heureuse, le livre de M. R. G. Ousterhout, dont le texte, après avoir été présenté comme thèse de doctorat à l'Université de l'Illinois en janvier 1982, a été remanié et mis à jour. Les dessins sont fondés sur une série de documents graphiques inédits préparés par le Byzantine Institute of America entre 1956 et 1962 ; ils ont été amendés par l'auteur, qui en a lui-même ajouté un certain nombre. L'illustration comprend aussi des gravures allant des environs de 1840 à ceux de 1878.

R. G. O. a distingué, comme ses devanciers D. Oates et P. Underwood, 5 phases dans l'histoire architecturale de l'église. De la *première phase*, les fouilles de D. Oates ont rendu, sous la partie orientale du monument, des substructions que R. G. O. date, en raison de l'appareil des murs, du *VIe s.* et qui auraient pu être ultérieurement converties en crypte. Rien n'exclut que les superstructures aient été déjà celles d'une église. C'est également à l'E. qu'ont été découverts les vestiges de la *deuxième phase.* Ils suggèrent l'aménagement d'une terrasse sur laquelle aurait été érigée une nouvelle construction, sans doute lors des travaux de restauration exécutés, au témoignage de sa *Vie*, par *Michel le Syncelle*, higoumène du monastère, *entre 843 et 846.* Les vestiges ne permettent pas de conjecturer quel en fut le plan. La

(1) Voir *Byzantion*, t. LVII (1987), fasc. 2, pp. 491-505 ; t. LVIII (1988), fasc. 1, pp. 256-260.

troisième phase est celle de l'église élevée, à en croire Nicéphore Grégoras, par *Maria Doucaina*, belle-mère d'Alexis I Comnène, *entre 1077 et 1081*. C'était probablement une église au plan en croix grecque inscrite, à 3 nefs, du type constantinopolitain, dont les murs étaient bâtis selon la technique dite de la «recessed brick» (une arase de briques sur 2 étant en retrait et cachée par du mortier). Cette église devait présenter d'étroites ressemblances avec celle du Christ Pantépopte (Eski Imaret Camii), due à Anne Dalassène, la mère d'Alexis I (entre ± 1081 et 1087). C'est sans doute un affaissement de terrain provoqué par un tremblement de terre, qui nécessita la reconstruction de l'édifice, *au XIIe s.* (*quatrième phase*), vraisemblablement par Isaac Comnène, le troisième fils d'Alexis I et donc petit-fils de Maria Doucaina, après qu'il eut reçu, de son frère Jean II, le titre de sebastocratôr en 1118 mais avant son exil en 1122 (on rappellera que le R. P. Janin, *REB*, 1978, p. 293, avait penché pour une date postérieure à 1138, année du retour à Constantinople d'Isaac, réconcilié avec Jean II). La petite coupole de l'église de Maria Doucaina fut remplacée par une grande coupole portant sur 4 piliers d'angle, entre lesquels étaient tendus 4 arcs dessinant les bras peu développés d'une croix : il n'y avait donc plus qu'une seule nef, spacieuse et monumentale. Ce type de plan, qui avait été pratiqué du VIe au IXe s., fut fréquemment employé au XIIe. La Kariye Camii en est, pour cette époque, le plus ancien exemple, et l'on peut se demander si elle ne se trouve pas à l'origine de ce regain de faveur. Le narthex et les pastophories auraient débordé sur les murs latéraux du *naos*. R. G. O. a conjecturé que les compartiments des extrémités du narthex, la prothèse et le diaconicon auraient pu être surmontés, chacun, d'une coupole. L'abside à 5 pans, décorés extérieurement de 3 niveaux de niches, s'est maintenue dans l'état suivant de l'édifice. Le décor intérieur comprenait des fresques en dessous de la corniche et des mosaïques au-dessus. La fenêtre de l'abside était fermée par des vitraux, comparables à ceux dont on a découvert des fragments au Pantocrator. Au flanc S. était annexée une chapelle. La *cinquième phase* est celle des travaux menés, entre ± 1315 et 1321, peut-être à la suite de dommages causés par le tremblement de terre de 1296, grâce aux libéralités de Théodore Métochite, qui fit construire les annexes latérales N. et S. et les 2 narthex et qui décora l'église de mosaïques et la chapelle funéraire de fresques. On lui doit aussi le pavement et le placage de marbre du naos. Un clocher, probablement à 3 étages, ensuite remplacé par un minaret, s'élevait sur la travée S.-O. de l'ésonarthex. (On trouvera au chapitre 3, pp. 106-110, un important développement sur les clochers dans l'architecture byzantine à partir du XIIIe s.).

L'auteur a consacré le deuxième chapitre à une analyse architecturale approfondie de l'édifice, dont il a étudié successivement les espaces intérieurs, avec leurs structures, leur décoration et les tombes qu'ils abritent, puis les façades, les toitures et les coupoles. Il a démêlé ce qui appartient à l'époque de Métochite, ce qui remonte à l'église du XIIIe s., voire à celle du XIe, et ce qui est dû à des altérations ou des restaurations postérieures.

Dans le troisième et dernier chapitre, qui dénote beaucoup de sensibilité aux réalités architecturales et une compréhension pénétrante de leur signification, R. G. O. a présenté la place particulière occupée par l'église de Métochite dans l'histoire de l'architecture du début des Paléologues, en la situant aussi par rapport aux antécédents mésobyzantins. Elle témoigne d'expériences audacieuses et d'une recherche de compromis dans l'exploitation éclectique du patrimoine architectural. Tout en laissant aux éléments constitutifs un certain degré d'indépendance, elle obéit à une volonté de cohérence logique. À la richesse des articulations des parois extérieures répondait l'opulence de l'intérieur avec ses encadrements de portes, ses pavements et ses revêtements de marbre, ses vitraux, ses lustres, ses icones et ses vases liturgiques. Mais il y a un manque de coodination entre le décor extérieur et les structures «comme si l'architecte n'avait pu visualiser simultanément les deux parois d'un mur» (p. 129). R. G. O. considère, à bon droit, que l'architecture, de haute qualité, de la Kariye Camii, a été sous-estimée et qu'elle est fondée sur les mêmes principes d'une esthétique maniériste que ceux qui ont inspiré les mosaïques. Ce monument majeur marque à la fois le début et la fin de la dernière phase du développement de l'architecture byzantine dans la capitale de l'Empire.

Ajouterai-je que je suis de ceux qui ne peuvent s'habituer à voir les mots grecs constamment translittérés en caractères latins, même quand il s'agit de titres de publications, ce qui ne peut manquer de déconcerter ?

Cappadoce

Pour le début de cette partie de la Chronique voir Byzantion, t. LVII (1987), pp. 518-533 et t. LVIII (1988), pp. 260-263.

Erratum : dans *Byzantion*, t. LVII (1987), p. 523, l. 15 pour le martyr originaire de Matianè on lira *Hiéron* et non *Hilarion* (cf. N. THIERRY, *Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce*, I, p. 99, n. 2).

Je ne voudrais tarder à signaler que dans *École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences religieuses, Annuaire, Résumé des conférences et des*

travaux, t. XCV (1986-1987), Mme N. THIERRY, dans son rapport sur son enseignement relatif à la peinture monumentale byzantine du xe s. «d'après l'ensemble de la production cappadocienne, considérée comme représentative de l'Asie Mineure, et par conséquent, de l'empire» (pp. 344-350), a marqué ses divergences sur la chronologie des diverses étapes de Tokalı avec la monographie d'Ann WHARTON EPSTEIN (*Tokalı Kilise*: cf. *Byzantion*, t. LVII [1987], pp. 529-531 ; voir aussi le compte rendu de N. Th. dans *BZ*, 1988). Quant aux peintures de Tokalı II, Mme N. Th. les a attribuées à la générosité de «la grande famille des Phocas, la plus riche et la plus implantée dans la région» (p. 349).

Elle a développé les arguments qui l'ont conduite à cette conclusion dans sa communication *La peinture de Cappadoce au xe siècle, Recherches sur les commanditaires de la Nouvelle église de Tokalı et d'autres monuments*, qu'elle a présentée à la *Second International Byzantine Conference : Byzantium and Europe*, qui s'est tenue à Delphes du 23 au 26 juillet 1987. Dans le texte que je la remercie d'avoir eu l'obligance de me communiquer, Mme N. Th. écrit : «Nous pensons que la Nouvelle église de Tokalı a été commandée par les membres de la famille Phocas. Au milieu du xe siècle, Constantin [*désigné comme fondateur dans une première dédicace* Ch. D.], stratège de Séleucie était encore vivant et âgé d'environ 30 à 35 ans. On peut donc déduire qu'il est le premier et principal bienfaiteur du monastère de Tokalı et le fondateur de la Nouvelle église. À sa mort (953), son entreprise a été poursuivie par son frère Nicéphore [*dont on lit le nom dans la prothèse* Ch. D.], alors domestique des scholes (954-963), au nom de son fils encore enfant, un Léon demeuré inconnu [*mais dont le nom est cité après celui de Nicéphore dans la dédicace de la prothèse* Ch. D.]. L'invocation dédicatoire de la prothèse se situe donc entre 953, date de la mort de Constantin, et 963, date du couronnement de Nicéphore. Connaissant la carrière de Nicéphore, il faut placer sa participation à l'achèvement de la décoration de Tokalı durant ses séjours en Asie Mineure, c'est-à-dire avant ou après sa reconquête de la Crète (960-961)». Nous lisons encore : «La parenté des peintures princières géorgiennes avec celles de Tokalı II n'est pas fortuite. Les puissants d'alors faisaient appel aux meilleurs artistes de leur temps, ceux dont le talent et le matériau assuraient la qualité de la production. Les ateliers de peinture qui œuvrèrent au Tao comprenaient peut-être des Grecs ou des Géorgiens venus d'école byzantine ... L'art et la technique étaient proches de ceux pratiqués dans la belle église cappadocienne de Göreme».

Dans cette même communication Mme N. Th. a encore présenté des remarques sur les peintures du tourmarque et spatharocandidat dans l'église

de la Toute Sainte Théotokos (Eğri Taş Kilisesi) à Ihlara, peintures qu'une nouvelle lecture de la dédicace permet de dater du règne conjoint de Constantin VII et Romain Lécapène (921-944). «Vers le milieu du xe siècle, le tréfonds oriental de l'Asie mineure et la permanence de ses contacts avec le Proche Orient sont attestés dans toute leur vitalité dans les églises d'Ihlara, alors qu'en d'autres lieux l'emportait plus ou moins l'influence constantinopolitaine».

Mme N. Th. a enfin étudié les peintures de *Λεόντιος ὁ τάλας* dans le sanctuaire de Ballı kilise et dans l'église de Selme dédiée à la Mère du Christ (peintures attribuables au milieu ou au 3e quart du xe s.) : «l'œuvre mineure de Léonce nous prouve que [la] vitalité de l'inspiration ne se limitait pas aux fondations aristocratiques».

Grèce

Pour le début de cette partie de la Chronique voir Byzantion, t. LVIII (1988), fasc. 1, pp. 263-280.

Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Περίοδος Δ'. Τόμος ΙΓ', 1985-1986. Στὴ μνήμη Μ. Καλλιγᾶ. Athènes, 1988. 1 vol. 21,5 × 28 cm, 318 pp., nombreuses figg. Prix : 3.800 drachmes.

Le *Δελτίον* a changé d'aspect. Suivant le modèle des revues d'art actuelles le format en a été porté à 21,5 × 28 cm, ce qui permettra de publier des photographies de plus grandes dimensions et des schémas indiquant la répartition des sujets des fresques. Le comité de rédaction s'est aussi assigné de tenter de donner à la revue une périodicité annuelle. Les articles en grec sont accompagnés de résumés substantiels en langue étrangère (le plus souvent en anglais, parfois en français). Réciproquement un article en français est suivi d'un résumé en grec. Il est envisagé de publier à l'avenir des comptes rendus. Le présent volume est dédié à la mémoire du regretté Marinos Kalligas, historien et critique d'art, qui fut vice-président de la Société de 1983 à 1985. Sa carrière et son œuvre ont été évoquées dans les deux premiers articles, qui reproduisent les allocutions prononcées par MM. N. Drandakis et Chrysanthos Christou lors de la cérémonie au cours de laquelle il fut proclamé docteur *honoris causa* de l'Université d'Athènes, le 18 mai 1983 (il était diplômé en droit de cette Université et docteur de Wurzbourg avec une thèse sur Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique). Le texte de M. Drandakis contient une bonne analyse du livre de M. Kalliga, *Ἡ αἰσθητικὴ τοῦ χώρου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκκλησίας στὸ Μεσαίωνα* (Athènes, 1946).

Dans le domaine de **la peinture murale** M. N. B. DRANDAKIS (pp. 79-92) a étudié *l'église rupestre de Saint-Jean Baptiste* (*Ἁι Γιαννάκη*) en Laconie entre Zoupéna (aujourd'hui *Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι*) et Géraki. Les fresques les plus anciennes, dans le sanctuaire (avec une Déisis dans l'abside), remonteraient à la 2e moitié du XIe s. et marquent le passage vers un style populaire de tendance anticlassique. Les autres, dans le naos, dues peut-être à 2 peintres différents, appartiennent au dernier quart du XIIIe s. ; on y trouve le sujet, assez rare, de sainte Élisabeth portant Jean-Baptiste enfant. — Mme Myrtali ACHIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU (pp. 301-306), qui s'est attachée à la publication des peintures murales (découvertes en 1975-1977) de *l'église des Blachernes au village du même nom* près d'Arta (cf. *AAA*, VIII, 1975, p. 208 et suiv. ; *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ ΙΕ' Διεθν. Συν. Βυζ. Σπ., Ἀθῆναι, Σεπτέμβριος*, 1976, II. *Τέχνη καὶ Ἀρχαιολογία*, I, Athènes, 1981, pp. 1 et suiv.), a présenté *la fresque du stichère de Noël* sur le tympan de la niche N. du narthex de cette église (fin du XIIIe s.). Cette représentation est apparentée par l'iconographie et la composition, à la figuration du même sujet à la Péribleptos d'Ochrid (1926) et aux Saints-Apôtres de Thessalonique. Comme les fresques du naos, elle donne l'impression d'un art aulique : l'église doit être une fondation des despotes d'Arta. (Pour le stichère de Noël sur une icone du XVIIIe s. voir dans le même recueil, pp. 93-96, l'article de Mme KARAKATSANI : *infra*, p. 508). — 4 documents, l'un des Archives de l'État de Venise, les 3 autres de celles de *Corfou* ont fourni à Mme Maria KAZANAKI-LAPPA (pp. 293-300), de précieux renseignements sur l'*activité de 6 peintres jusqu'alors inconnus*, qui ont travaillé dans l'île au XVIe s. Georges Tzanfournaris (attesté en 1584) est sans doute le père du célèbre Emmanuel Tzanfournaris. La poursuite de ces recherches promet d'être extrêmement fructueuse.

En ce qui concerne les **icones**, Mme Mary ASPRA-VARDAVAKI (pp. 113-124) a publié *une icone de saint Démétrius* en buste provenant de l'église de la Présentation du Christ au Temple à Thessalonique et conservée au Musée byzantin d'Athènes. Les parentés iconographiques et stylistiques avec les fresques du catholicon du monastère des Philantropinon dans l'île du lac de Jannina (1542 ; cf. *Byzantion*, t. LVII, 1988, fasc. 1, pp. 278-280) et plus encore avec celles du monastère de Barlaam aux Météores (1548) et au monastère de Zavorda (près de Grévéna) ont conduit Mme A.-V. à penser que l'œuvre a été peinte entre 1542 et 1548, je serais tenté de dire, plus prudemment, dans les années 1540 ; elle pourrait être due au peintre Frangos Katélanos. — Mme Myrtali ACHIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU (pp. 125-156) a étudié de manière approfondie *deux icones de la Dormition de la Vierge conservées*

dans la chapelle épiscopale de l'Annonciation de la cathédrale de Chio et qui avaient été déjà présentées dans des expositions dont les catalogues nous avaient aidés à les connaître. La première (cf. *Byzantine Art and Post-Byzantine Art*, Athènes, 1986, n° 144, pp. 139-140 et *From Byzantium to El Greco*, Londres, 1987, n° 62, pp. 189-190 ; voir *infra*, pp. 521-526) pourrait être une œuvre relativement ancienne de Georges Klontzas. La deuxième (cf. *Byz. Art and Post-B. Art*, n° 149, pp. 145, 148) serait due vraisemblablement au moine Amvrosios Emboros, qui a signé l'icone au Jugement dernier des Saints-Anargyres de La Canée, où l'on peut voir une autre icone de la Dormition dont il paraît bien être aussi l'auteur. Mme A.-P. a signalé qu'il y avait une parenté stylistique entre l'œuvre d'Amvrosios Emboros et celle de Venediktos Emboros, peut-être son frère ; l'un et l'autre auraient fait leur apprentissage chez le même maître à La Canée avant le départ du second pour Venise. – Mme Maria VASSILAKI (pp. 247-260) nous a fait connaître une intéressante *icone* (appartenant à une collection privée d'Athènes) *qui représente saint Charalambos* en jeune martyr (et non pas, comme d'habitude, en prêtre âgé) et 6 scènes de son martyre au lieu de 3. Cette icone date du milieu du XVIIe s. Les scènes du martyre sont inspirées de certaines de celles du martyre de saint-Georges : on en trouve d'identiques sur une icone de saint Georges à la cathédrale de Corfou exécutée par Michel Damaskinos vers 1580 (cf. P. L. VOCOTOPOULOS dans *Byzantion*, t. LIII, 1983, fasc. 1, pp. 50-51, pll. VI, 1 et IX, 2). Mme V. voit dans l'accroissement du nombre de ces scènes un reflet de l'extension du culte du saint, considéré comme une protecteur contre la peste qui ravageait alors la Grèce ; elle en trouve l'équivalent dans la nouvelle version de la vie du saint rédigée vers 1650 par le moine crétois Agapios Landos. – Mme Agapi KARAKATSANI (pp. 93-96) a attiré notre attention sur *une icone du stichère de Noël* appartenant à Mme B. Papastamos et datant de la 1re moitié du XVIIIe s. ; la ressemblance avec une fresque du catholicon de Dochiariou (1568) donne à croire qu'elle a été peinte à l'Athos ; l'attitude de l'Enfant est exactement la même que dans une fresque du monastère de Barlaam aux Météores (1566). – Mme Nano CHATZIDAKIS, MM. J. PHILIPPON, P. AUSSET, J. CHRYSOULAKIS et A. ALEXOPOULOU (pp. 215-246) ont fait connaître *les résultats des analyses physico-chimiques* (conduites selon une nouvelle méthodologie) auxquelles ils ont soumis 90 microéchantillons de 13 icones du Musée byzantin d'Athènes allant du IXe s. au XVIIIe et datant surtout du XIVe.

Les **miniatures** ont été aussi l'objet de plusieurs articles novateurs. Mme Anna MARAVA-CHATZINICOLAOU (pp. 209-214) a proposé une nouvelle

interprétation de *la miniature du fol. 34v du manuscrit 211 de la B.N. de Grèce* (dernier quart du IXe s.). Se fondant sur le texte de l'homélie de saint Jean Chrysostome qui interprète *Luc*, X, 8-10, elle voit dans la figure de l'Ancien des Jours, debout à gauche, la Sagesse Divine *λαμπαδοῦχος* s'élevant au-dessus de la main droite de la Terre et tenant une lampe (l'*ὀστράκινον λύχνον* du texte) avec l'*imago clipeata* du Christ Emmanuel, tandis qu'Adam, «la drachme perdue» et retrouvée, a pris place parmi les anges répartis, à droite, en 3 groupes selon la doctrine du pseudo-Denys Aréopagite. — Le P. Christopher WALTER (pp. 181-190) a fort opportunément fourni les données absentes de la publication du *Lectionnaire 587 de Dionysiou* dans le t. I de *Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους* (Athènes, 1973, pp. 162-219, 434-446, figg. 189-277). Il a indiqué les initiales enluminées, y compris celles qui n'avaient pas été publiées (au nombre de 44), précisé les fêtes et les cérémonies au cours desquelles étaient lus les textes illustrés, ainsi que la place occupée par chaque miniature dans le manuscrit. Le miniaturiste semble avoir joui d'une grande liberté dans le choix de ses sujets. La représentation de la lecture du décret du synode de 843 du haut de l'ambon a conduit le P. Walter à émettre l'hypothèse que ce manuscrit aurait été offert à Sainte-Sophie par un des empereurs Comnènes ou Anges. — Mme Stella PAPADAKI-ÖEKLAND (pp. 17-38) a démontré que *les miniatures du manuscrit 590 de Vatopédi (Livre de Job)*, exécutées aux XIIe-XIIIe s., sont des copies médiocres et non pas des répliques exactes de celles du célèbre manuscrit 171 (généralement daté maintenant du IXe s.). La comparaison des 2 textes de commentaires confirme cette hypothèse. Le manuscrit de Vatopédi a dû être copié au monastère de Saint-Jean de Patmos. — M. Panayotis L. VOCOTOPOULOS (pp. 191-208) a attribué à un scriptorium crétois, en raison d'un texte écrit dans le dialecte de cette île, le *codex gr. 2137 de la Vaticane*. Il en a publié les 10 miniatures en pleine page qui se trouvent au début du manuscrit : la 1re représente l'*arbor viciorum* ; les 9 autres des épisodes de la messe, se déroulant soit devant l'iconostase soit devant le bêma. M. P. V. incline à attribuer ces miniatures à l'atelier de Georges Klontzas.

Deux articles seulement traitent de questions relatives à **l'architecture**. Mme Kalliopi THEOCHARIDOU (pp. 97-112) a précisé *les procédés de fabrication des briques et des tuiles* aux époques byzantine et post-byzantine. — Un examen plus attentif de *la maison de Mistra attribuée par la tradition à Lascaris ou aux Lascaris* a appris à MM. Alexandre G. KALLIGAS et Charis A. KALLIGAS (pp. 261-278) qu'elle est seulement une partie d'un vaste ensemble qui s'est développé à partir de plusieurs constructions plus petites ;

l'emploi de voûtes d'arêtes caractéristiques de l'architecture des Paléologues à Constantinople donne à croire que le complexe constitué au cours de la 4e et dernière phase de l'évolution pourrait être dû à un important dignitaire de la 1re moitié du XIVe s. en relations avec la capitale, tel Alexis Lascaris Métochite Paléologue, gouverneur du Péloponnèse byzantin avant la création du Despotat.

M. Caralambos BOURAS (pp. 39-78) a apporté une contribution de prix à notre connaissance de **la sculpture architectonique** en dressant le catalogue de 84 éléments en marbre ou en poros, transférés en 1985 du Musée national archéologique au Musée byzantin (chapiteaux de colonne ; base de colonne ; encadrements de porte ; linteaux ; plaques de parapet ; colonnettes et meneaux ; chapiteaux de colonnettes et impostes ; architrave de templon ; fragments de pavement de marbre ; moulures ; gargouille ; piliers de templon ; chapiteaux d'ante ; fragment manquant de l'arcosolium de l'époque franque au Musée byzantin : SOTIRIOU, *Guide du musée byzantin d'Athènes*, p. 53). Ces éléments vont de la période paléochrétienne à celle de l'occupation ottomane. M. B. a établi de nombreux et instructifs rapprochements avec des pièces inédites ou peu connues du Musée byzantin et du Musée de l'Agora. — Mme Nicoletta DIMITRAKOPOULOU-SKYLOYANNI (pp. 157-174) a publié 22 *plaques de parapet*, plus ou moins fragmentaires, — toutes (sauf une) en marbre blanc —, *du Musée byzantin*. Elles datent de l'époque mésobyzantine (IXe, Xe, XIe s.) et sont décorées d'un losange dont les sommets sont noués au cadre rectangulaire et qui contient différents motifs (rosaces, croix elles-mêmes de formes variables, croissants rayonnants) ; les cantons étaient occupés le plus souvent par les mêmes motifs. Mme D.-S. a insisté sur l'influence du travail du bois. — Mme Maria SKLAVOU-MAVROIDI (pp. 175-180) a attiré l'attention sur *quelques sculptures du Musée byzantin portant un gorgoneion ou des têtes humaines* entourées de motifs végétaux, qui peuvent se terminer en forme de serpents. Elle y a ajouté un fragment de linteau provenant d'Eleusis où 2 masques de théâtre encadrent le haut d'une arcade abritant une croix. Elle a rappelé que les masques humains et même les têtes entières avaient conservé une valeur apotropaïque dans l'architecture populaire de la Grèce.

M. Elias ANTONOPOULOS (dont on a pu lire l'article *Miséricorde, olivier : agents et attributs*, dans *Byzantion*, t. LI, 1981, pp. 345-385) a suivi la **«typologie idéographique» du geste donateur** depuis la libéralité romaine (tombeau de Trimalcion : *Satiricon*, LXXI, 9-10 ; «libéralités» de Marc-Aurèle et de Constantin) jusqu'à l'aumône byzantine aux pauvres (psautier Chludov, fol. 116 ; illustrations de l'homélie *Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας* de Grégoire

de Nazianze ; représentations d'*Ἐλεημοσύνη* sur les tables de canons de deux Évangiles, l'un à la Marcienne, l'autre à la National Gallery of Victoria à Melbourne) (pp. 279-292).

K. SKAMPAVIAS (pp. 307-313) a présenté **quelques dessins inédits de mosaïques de Sainte-Sophie** exécutés, lors de la restauration des frères Fossati, par l'architecte Paul Durand, et des informations tirées de son carnet de notes.

Icones grecques (surtout crétoises)

Μανόλης ΧΑΤΖΗΔΑΚΗΣ, Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου. Ζητήματα βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντίνης ζωγραφικῆς. Athènes, *Ἐθνικὴ Τράπεζα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1977. 1 vol. 15,5 × 31 cm, 205 pp., 83 pll. en couleurs, 131 pll. en noir et blanc.

Manolis CHATZIDAKIS, *Icons of Patmos.* Questions of byzantine and post-byzantine Painting. Traduction anglaise de Thetis XANTHAKI. Athènes, National Bank of Greece, 1985. 1 vol. 15,5 × 31 cm, 205 pp., 83 pll. en couleurs, 131 pll. en noir et blanc.

Cette publication d'un choix de 164 icones de Patmos, appartenant non seulement au monastère de Saint-Jean Théologien, mais à celui de la Zôodochos Pighi, au *Kathisma* de l'Annonciation, à des églises de Chora (le chef-lieu de l'île) et à des chapelles rurales, a fait progresser de façon considérable notre connaissance des icones grecques et, plus particulièrement, des icones crétoises, catégorie à laquelle appartiennent presque exclusivement les œuvres retenues, en grande majorité inédites. 17 d'entre elles avaient été présentées lors de l'exposition *Art byzantin-art européen* à Athènes en 1964. Les notices descriptives sont extrêmement développées. Elles font ressortir les particularités iconographiques et stylistiques, les permanences de la tradition, les innovations et les emprunts à l'art de l'Occident ; elles mettent en valeur les qualités artistiques. Mais ce volume est plus qu'un simple catalogue, comme le sous-titre le donne à entendre. M. Ch. a, en effet, approfondi les problèmes généraux et particuliers posés par ces icones, et, notamment, par leur datation et leur attribution à un courant artistique ou à un peintre. Il a ainsi été amené à relever des variantes dans le style qui n'avaient pas été notées avant lui. La version anglaise s'est enrichie de quelques additions bibliographiques.

L'ouvrage débute par une introduction où l'auteur a retracé l'histoire du monastère à partir de sa fondation, en 1088, par saint Christodoulos, venu du Latmos (à la suite de l'invasion de l'Anatolie par les Seldjoukides) et il

l'a replacée dans celle de l'île. Il y a distingué 4 périodes : 1) la période byzantine jusqu'à la chute de Constantinople ; 2) la 1re période postbyzantine de 1453 à 1530 (terme choisi entre 1522, année où les Hospitaliers de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, qui traitèrent le monastère avec faveur, abandonnèrent Rhodes, et 1540, date à laquelle un traité de paix fut conclu entre les Turcs et les Vénitiens) ; 3) la 2e période postbyzantine, de 1530 à 1640, à l'approche de la guerre turco-vénitienne (1645-1669), qui plongea toute la région dans le marasme économique et interrompit les relations entre Patmos et la Crète ; 4) la dernière phase, consécutive à la fin de la guerre turco-vénitienne. Pour les trois premières périodes, des chapitres spéciaux traitent des problèmes artistiques (par exemple en B2 des considérations importantes et originales sur l'art de la Crète sous la domination vénitienne). Les icones de la 1re période postbyzantine (1453-1530) ont apporté à M. Ch. d'instructives sources indirectes d'information sur la situation générale de l'île, son développement économique et ses relations, artistiques et autres, avec la Crète, qui remontaient à avant 1453 (voir les icones **6** et **7**, de la 1re moitié du XVe s., d'origine crétoise). On a renouvelé alors les iconostases et les icones non seulement du catholicon et de chapelles du monastère mais aussi d'autres églises. De telles icones de cette époque peuvent avoir appartenu à de riches particuliers. La prospérité du monastère était due, en grande partie, aux contributions de son métoque de Stylo, en Crète, près de La Canée. Durant la 2e période postbyzantine (1530-1640) l'essor de l'île se poursuivit grâce à son commerce maritime, qui s'inséra dans le système économique vénitien de la Méditerranée orientale. À partir des environs de 1580 surtout on construisit de nombreuses églises à l'intérieur de l'enceinte du monastère, à Chora et ailleurs encore. Du milieu du XVe s. jusqu'au milieu du XVIIe plusieurs iconostases en bois furent importées de Crète ou sculptées *in situ* par des maîtres crétois. Crétois furent également les peintres qui exécutèrent vers 1600 les fresques du *catholicon*.

Les chapitres où il a été traité des icones se succèdent évidemment dans l'ordre des périodes.

Le premier présente **8 icones antérieures à la chute de Constantinople**. On signalera l'icone n° **2**, jusqu'alors inédite, figurant saint Jean Théologien, œuvre du XIIe s. avec un revêtement d'argent de cette époque, repeinte par un artiste crétois du XVe s., plus vraisemblablement qu'œuvre du XVe s. exécutée d'après un modèle du XIIe ; ce serait l'icone citée dans l'inventaire de 1200 ; d'après la tradition, elle aurait été le cadeau d'un empereur. J'ai souligné plus haut l'intérêt de **6** et **7** comme témoins de relations avec la Crète antérieures à 1453.

Le second chapitre contient **des icones crétoises datées entre 1453 et 1530. 9** et **10** sont signées d'*Andréas Ritzos* ; la présence sur ces icones de bustes respectivement de saint Jean Théologien et de saint Christodoulos donne à croire qu'elles ont été peintes directement pour le monastère et placées sur la nouvelle iconostase du catholicon, sculptée elle aussi en Crète. D'autres icones, comme les icones despotiques de la chapelle de saint Christodoulos (**15-18**) sont attribuables à ce même maître ou à son atelier. Plusieurs icones de cette époque sont ici publiées pour la première fois : **23** et **24** : Saint Georges à cheval (**23**) ou debout (**24**) terrassant le dragon, l'une et l'autre se distinguant par l'adaptation de formes vénitiennes : — **25** : icone à 2 registres avec la Résurrection de Lazare et l'Entrée à Jérusalem. — **26** : Présentation du Christ au Temple, œuvre de très haute qualité, due à un excellent peintre, proche d'Andréas Ritzos et de son fils Nicolas. — **27** : saint Jean Damascène. — **28** : Christ de Pitié. — **29** et **30** : prophète Élie assis dans le désert. — **33** : Vierge *Διασώζουσα* (= salvatrice ; épithète connue seulement à Patmos). M. Ch. a souligné dans la plupart de ces icones les qualités d'eurythmie, de beauté des visages, de fermeté du dessin, de construction rigoureuse et de richesse de coloris des draperies. Quatre icones, tout en étant crétoises, visent à une expression dramatique au détriment de la beauté des visages et prolongent *le courant anti-classique de l'époque de Paléologues.* Ce sont : **34** : Christ Pantocrator assis ; **35** : saint Jean Baptiste debout de face, bénissant de la main droite ; **36** : Christ Pantocrator en buste (avec l'épithète *Ζωοδώτης*) ; **37** : Vierge Hodighitria. Il est aussi un groupe du *genre dit «italo-crétois»*, icones peintes par des Crétois travaillant dans leur île natale à «la manière italienne» (**38** à **47**, presque toutes inédites ; **40** : ce Christ de Pitié pourrait être attribuable à *Nicolas Tzafouris* ; **42** : la Vierge tenant l'Enfant, du type dit «Mère de la Consolation», est accompagnée de l'épiclèse *Ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν χριστιανῶν.* La présence de ces icones à Patmos prouve qu'elles ont eu du succès en dehors des milieux catholiques. M. Ch. a encore fait observer que c'est alors qu'ont été fixés les types iconographiques fondamentaux qui devaient être repris dans les siècles suivants. C'est aussi dans ces ateliers crétois que se sont formés les peintres qui allaient décorer de fresques les monastères de la Grèce continentale sous domination ottomane.

Pour **la 2e période postbyzantine (1530-1640)** M. Ch. a été amené, en raison de l'ampleur de la matière, à distinguer quatre chapitres.

Dans le chapitre III ont été groupées **12 icones crétoises, datables entre 1530 et 1570**, dont aucune n'est signée (**48-59**). Quatre (**48** : Quarante martyrs de Sébaste ; **49** : Philoxénie d'Abraham ; **50** : Dernière Cène ; **51** :

saint Antoine et sainte Théoktistè de Lesbos), d'une très belle qualité de composition, de modelé et de dessin, s'apparentent aux icones de Stavronikita peintes par Théophane (en 1545-1546). **55** (buste du Pantocrator bénissant) et **56** (sainte Paraskévi) s'inscrivent dans la tradition d'*Andréas Ritzos*.

Le chapitre IV rassemble, au contraire, **des icones de peintres crétois bien connus (entre 1570 et 1640)**. On y trouve des icones, plus d'une fois inédites, signées de ou attribuables à *Michel Damaskinos* (**60**, **61**), *Georges Klontzas* (**62**), *Thomas Vathas ou Bathas* (**63-66** et **79** ; M. Ch. a été le premier à identifier sa signature sur l'icone inédite de la Vision de saint Jean : **63**), *Jean Apakas* (**70**), *Jérémie Palladas* (**71**), *Silvestros Théocharis* (**72**), *Franghias Kavertzas* (**73**, plus conservateur que Palladas). Chacun de ces peintres a fait l'objet d'une notice où ont été mises au point les connaissances que nous en avons. On s'étonnera que dans la traduction anglaise *Angélos* ait été maintenu dans ce chapitre alors que l'on considère maintenant, d'après le témoignage de documents d'archives de Venise qu'il a vécu dans la 1re moitié du XVe s. (*Θησαυρίσματα*, 18 [1981], pp. 290-298 et *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 4e série, II [1960-1961], pp. 139-151). D'ailleurs, les nos **68** (la Vierge et sainte Catherine) et **69** (saint Phanourios) de Patmos signés d'Angélos ont été présentés à l'exposition d'icones crétoises du Musée Bénaki en 1983 (voir *infra*, pp. 518-521) comme des œuvres du milieu du XVe s. (sous les nos **6** et **9**).

Dans les **icones d'iconostase entre 1570 et 1640** (chapitre V) M. Ch. a distingué 3 groupes : 1) icones dues à *des peintres crétois* (**80-102** ; sur **81** la Vierge porte l'épithète de *Καρδιοβαστάζουσα*, propre à Patmos ; **100** et **101** rappellent la manière d'*Emmanuel Lambardos*) ; 2) icones s'inspirant d'œuvres crétoises plus anciennes (**103-118**) et dont certaines ont été peintes par *des artistes locaux* comme *les prêtres Stamatios* (**113**) et *Théodore*, protonotaire de Patmos (**114-115**) ou encore *le moine Nicodème* (**118** : ici encore la Vierge porte l'épithète de *Καρδιοβαστάζουσα*) (plusieurs de ces icones datent de la 2e ou de la 3e décennie du XVIIe s.) ; 3) un petit nombre d'icones (**119-122**), d'*un style caractéristique de la Grèce du N. et des Balkans*, diamétralement opposé à celui de la Crète (les plus anciennes, **119-120**, sont datées de *1590*), mais elles ont dû être exécutées à Patmos d'après des prototypes crétois : c'est ce que confirment les portraits des donateurs sur **119** et **120** ; d'après le tracé de certaines lettres, proche de celui du cyrillique, M. Ch. conjecture que le peintre de ces deux icones pourrait être un *Slave* des Balkans ou un *Valaque* établi à Patmos (nous savons qu'en 1584 le voïvode Pierre de Valachie a fait au monastère un don de 5.000 aspres).

Le chapitre VI rassemble **25 icones inédites de la période 1600-1640 (123-147)**, dont les unes sont crétoises ou imitées des icones crétoises et les autres plus rares, dans le style de la Grèce du N. : celles-ci seraient originaires du Mont Athos. **133** (saint Jean l'Ermite entouré de scènes de sa vie) rappelle l'art d'*Emmanuel Tzanfournaris.* — **140** (Vision de saint Jean) est la seule icone connue inspirée de celle de *Thomas Vathas* (**63** : cf. *supra*, p. 514).

Le chapitre VII rassemble des **icones de peintres crétois bien connus entre 1640 et 1700** : icones signées d'*Emmanuel Tzanès* (**148**), *Théodore Poulakis* (**149-150**), *Emmanuel Skordilis* (**151-152**). Ce dernier peintre a été l'objet d'une brève notice : né vers 1600 à La Canée, qu'il aurait quittée au moment de la prise de la ville par les Turcs ou peu auparavant, pour s'établir à Mélos, il fut le peintre le plus important des Cyclades dans le 3e quart du XVIIe s. M. Ch. connaît plus de 50 œuvres portant sa signature. À la fin de ce chapitre ont été rangées deux icones (**153** : sainte Anne, et **154** : les saints Barlaam et Joasaph) qui ont dû être exécutées à l'Athos au XVIIe s. et une 3e (**155** : Philoxénie d'Abraham) qui n'est pas crétoise mais dont M. Ch. n'a pu préciser l'origine.

Les **6 icones** du chapitre VIII (**156-161**) sont **dues à des artistes de Patmos** : **156** (Déisis) au *peintre et protonotaire Théodore* (déjà rencontré pour les icones d'iconostase **114** et **115** ; voir *supra*, p. 514) ; **157** (document de donation avec l'Hodighitria), à *Nicolas Averkios*, également protonotaire. M. Ch. attribue à des peintres locaux anonymes 2 tablettes de diptyques de donation (**158, 159**). Ces artistes s'inspirent de prototypes crétois mais en les simplifiant. Une icone de l'Anastasis avec les gardes au tombeau et les myrrhophores (**160**), œuvre d'allure plutôt populaire, peut être due aussi à une peintre local.

Les **icones du XVIIIe s.** sont nombreuses mais la plupart sont de peu d'importance. M. Ch. en a retenu 3 (IXe et dernier chapitre), révélatrices du goût de l'époque. Deux (**162** : Tous les saints, et **163** : saint Charalambis) doivent être d'origine athonite. La 3e (**164** : saint Georges, vers 1750) est d'un type répandu alors au Proche-Orient.

L'art des icones en Crète et dans les îles après Byzance. Europalia Grèce 1982. Charleroi, Palais des Beaux-Arts. 3 octobre-21 novembre 1982. Introduction et catalogue par Théano CHATZIDAKIS. 1 vol. 19 × 25 cm, 33 pp., 12 pll. en couleurs, 24 pll. en noir et blanc.

Notre connaissance des icones crétoises a encore progressé à la suite d'expositions, dont la première fut celle qui se tint, à l'occasion d'Europalia

Grèce (1982) au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Charleroi, sur l'initiative du directeur culturel de cette institution, le regretté Robert Rousseau, et dont le commissaire fut Mme Théano Chatzidakis. Notre consœur grecque a rédigé les notices du catalogue et les 6 pages de l'introduction, où, après des considérations sur la destination, la technique et l'emplacement des icones, elle a retracé l'histoire de la peinture d'icones crétoise depuis le XVe s. jusqu'à son rayonnement, après la conquête de l'île par les Ottomans (1645-1669), dans l'Heptanèse au XVIIe s. (avec des artistes comme Théodore Poulakis, Emmanuel Tzanès, Elias Moschos, qui y formèrent des disciples). Après une sélection rigoureuse, Mme Chatzidakis avait rassemblé 45 pièces, en majeure partie inédites ou peu connues en Europe occidentale. Après l'ouverture de l'exposition sont venues s'y ajouter 9 icones de l'Institut hellénique de Venise et une icone de la collection Démétrios Condylis à Lausanne (une Vierge à l'Enfant Kardiotissa, exécutée en 1661 par Emmanuel Tzanès, non reproduite dans le catalogue mais illustrée dans l'article de L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Byzantion*, LIII [1983], pp. 14-15, pl. IV, fig. 7 et dans celui que j'ai publié dans le *Bull. de la Cl. des Beaux-Arts de l'Ac. R. de Belgique*, 5e série, LXV [1983], p. 126, fig. 17 : voir *infra*, p. 518).

J'ai cru bon de mentionner ici les œuvres inédites ou réapparues à l'occasion de l'exposition ou encore présentées après un nettoyage complet. J'ai indiqué entre parenthèses en italiques les n^os^ correspondant du catalogue de l'exposition du Musée Bénaki à Athènes (= *A*) et du catalogue de l'exposition de la Royal Academy of Arts de Londres (*L*) (cf. *infra*, pp. 518-519 et pp. 521-526).

1. Les débuts de l'école crétoise (XVe s.-1525). 1 (= *A 5*) : Déisis, coll. P. Kanellopoulos (Athènes), signée d'*Angélos* (ce peintre que l'on a longtemps daté du début du XVIIe s. mais dont des documents d'archives de Venise nous ont appris qu'il était établi en Crète en 1436 et qu'il mourut avant le 16 novembre 1457 : cf. *supra*, p. 514). — **3** (= *A 13* ; *L 37*) : saint Démétrius, coll. R. Andréadi (Athènes) (Mme Ch. croit que l'icone aurait plutôt représenté initialement saint Phanourios tenant la croix et aurait été ultérieurement transformée en saint Démétrius), vers 1500. — **5** (= *L 40*) : Vierge Glykophilousa, coll. Michel Pératicos (Londres), 2e moitié du XVe s. — **6** : Vierge Glykophilousa, coll. Yanni Petsopoulos (Londres), fin du XVe s. (œuvre d'un peintre dont l'art peut être rapproché de celui d'*Andréas Ritzos*). — **8** (= *L 61*) : Christ de Pitié (*Ἄκρα Ταπείνωσις*), coll. Pératicos, début du XVIe s. (s'apparente au Christ de Pitié dans les fresques de l'église de Saint-Nicolas-Anapafsas aux Météores, peintes par Théophane en 1527). — **10** (= *L 30*) : Nativité, coll. Pératicos, début du XVe s. (autrefois dans la coll. Volpi à

Florence). — **12** (= *A 28*) : Entrée à Jérusalem, Musée de la ville d'Athènes, vers 1500 («d'une qualité extraordinaire»). — **13** (= *A 35, L 52*) : les Sept Dormants d'Éphèse, Musée de la ville d'Athènes, vers 1500. — **14** : saint Georges debout tuant le dragon, Musée Bénaki, fin du XVe s. **15** (= *A 52*) : bustes des apôtres répartis en 4 registres, coll. P. Kanellopoulos, début du XVIe s.

1.a. Icones italo-crétoises (cf. *supra*, p. 513). **17** (= *A 41*) : Vierge de Miséricorde, Pinacothèque nationale d'Athènes, milieu du XVe s. (pour le type iconographique on pourra se reporter à l'article *Schutzmantelschaft* du *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4, coll. 128-133). — **18** (= *A 20*) : Crucifixion, Pinacothèque nationale d'Athènes, signée *Andreas Pavias pinxit de Candia* (1440-1504). — **20** (= *A 45*) :Pietà, Musée Bénaki, milieu du XVe s. — **21** (= *A 46*) : Christ de Pitié, Musée Kanellopoulos (Athènes), vers 1500. — **22** (= *A 38, L 43*) : triptyque, coll. Constantin Levendis (Londres), 2e moitié du XV^e^s. : sur le panneau central, Vierge du type «Mère de la Consolation» ; sur le volet de gauche, rencontre des saints Pierre et Paul (à l'extérieur : saint Georges de face) ; sur celui de droite, deux diacres (à l'extérieur : croix fleurie) ; attribuable à *Nicolas Tzafouris*, ou du moins à un peintre fort apparenté à sa manière. — **24** (= *A 33, L 57*) : saint Nicolas trônant, entouré, sur l'encadrement, de 12 scènes de sa vie, coll. R. Andréadi, vers 1500.

2. Icones du XVIe et du XVIIe s. (1535-1700). a. *Courants conservateurs* : **25** (= *A 50*) : Nativité de la Vierge, Musée Kanellopoulos, 1re moitié du XVIe s. — **29** : Vierge aux symboles de la Passion, Musée Bénaki, fin du XVIe s. — **30** : tête de la Vierge, coll. Yanni Petsopoulos (devait appartenir à un ensemble de 3 icones représentant la Déisis), fin du XVIe s. — **31** : saints Ménas, Étienne et Victor, coll. P. Kanellopoulos, fin du XVIe s. — **32** : «Tous les saints», sujet dérivé du Jugement dernier, coll. Kanellopoulos, 3e quart du XVIe s.

b. *Influences occidentales* : **36** : Descente de Croix, Musée de la ville d'Athènes, début du XVIIe s. (appartient au groupe des icones reproduisant le modèle diffusé par la gravure de Marcantonio Raimondi). — **37** : Déisis avec la Vierge, saint Jean Baptiste et saint Jean Théologien, collection privée, vers 1600, attribuable à *Thomas Bathas* (voir *supra*, p. 514). — **38**. Christ trônant en grand prêtre, coll. Pératicos, îles ioniennes, fin du XVIIe s. — **42** : Crucifixion, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire (Bruxelles), îles ioniennes, fin du XVIIe s. — **45** : saint Jean Théologien et Prochoros, coll. Petsopoulos, exécutée dans l'île de Patmos vers le milieu du XVIIe s. ; «s'éloigne par le style des modèles crétois» mais «s'y rattache par le choix des modèles iconographiques».

Cette exposition a donné lieu à un colloque international sur «l'art des icones en Crète et dans les îles après Byzance» qui s'est tenu également au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Charleroi, les 18 et 19 novembre 1982. La plupart des communications ont été publiées dans *Byzantion*, LIII (1983), pp. 7-77.

Le texte de M. P. L. Vocotopoulos (pp. 36-51) ayant été imprimé sans que des épreuves aient pu lui être soumises, il s'y est maintenu quelques «coquilles». On lira donc :

p. 37, ligne 18 *modelé* au lieu du modèle ;

p. 41, ligne 21 : *connotations* au lieu de conditions ;

p. 41, ligne 29 : *Aaron* au lieu de Abraham ;

p. 48, ligne 13 : *ΔAMACKHNOY* au lieu de *AAMACKHNOY.*

D'autre part, j'ai fait paraître dans le *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* (de l')*Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5e série, LXV (1983), pp. 97-127, 17 fig. sur 14 pll., un article intitulé *À propos de l'exposition d'icones crétoises au Palais des Beaux-Arts de Charleroi*, où, après avoir évoqué le climat politique, intellectuel et artistique, dans lequel elles avaient été créées, j'ai mis l'accent sur plusieurs d'entre elles, qui me paraissaient mériter un intérêt particulier.

Nano Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Cretan School (15th-16th Century).* Athènes, Musée Benaki, 1983. 1 vol. 22,5 × 22 cm, 106 pp., 22 figg. en noir et blanc, 36 pll. en couleurs.

L'exposition du Musée Bénaki s'est différenciée de celle de Charleroi en ce qu'elle a présenté exclusivement des icones appartenant à des collections grecques, publiques ou privées, dont plusieurs avaient été prêtées par des monastères ou des églises. De plus, elle s'est arrêtée à la fin du XVIe s. Le catalogue débute par une introduction sur la peinture d'icones crétoise au XVe et au XVIe s., les types iconographiques qu'elle a traités de préférence, la manière dont elle a rendu les meubles et les animaux, les influences italiennes du Trecento auxquelles elle s'est ouverte. La Crète du XVe s. a su se montrer créatrice et a fourni des modèles aux artistes du siècle suivant : c'est la raison pour laquelle elle a été largement représentée à cette exposition.

Les trois premières sections du catalogue lui ont été consacrées : 1) **les 3 grands maîtres crétois et leur cercle** : *Angélos* (15 icones signées ou attribuables), *Andréas Ritzos* et son fils *Nicolas*, *Andréas Pavias* ; 2) **œuvres anonymes et triptyques de la seconde moitié du XVe s.** ; 3) **icones «italo-crétoises de la seconde moitié du XVe s.**, autrefois attribuées aux *madonneri*, mais dont on peut assurer qu'elles sont l'œuvre de peintres crétois travaillant à Candie sous l'influence de la peinture italienne. La 4e et dernière section

comprend **6 icones illustrant les tendances du XVIe s.** et leur degré de dépendance à l'égard du siècle précédent (on y trouve en **49** l'icone de saint Luc peignant la Vierge, du Musée Bénaki, signée *XEIP ΔOMHNIKOY*).

Ici encore il a paru bon de signaler les inédits. **Ire section : les grands maîtres et leur cercle** : **3** : Présentation de la Vierge, Musée byzantin d'Athènes, signée d'*Angélos*. — **15** : Tondo avec les saints Pierre et Paul s'embrassant, coll. K. Krimbas (Athènes), dans la manière d'Angélos, vers 1500.

2e section : œuvres anonymes et triptyques de la 2e moitié du XVe s. : **30** : Ascension, orphelinat Amalieion (Athènes). — **39** : volet gauche d'un triptyque avec saint Jean Baptiste à l'extérieur et, à l'intérieur, un moine «mégaloschème» (saint Sisoïs devant le tombeau vide d'Alexandre), coll. R. Andréadi (Athènes), vers 1500.

3e section : icones «italo-crétoises» de la seconde moitié du XVe s. : **44** : La Vierge «Mère de la Consolation», coll. privée (Athènes), fin du XVe s.

4e section : icones du XVIe s. 51 : Nativité de saint Jean Baptiste, Musée Bénaki, début du XVIe s. — **53** : saint Nicolas, coll. privée (Athènes), 2e moitié du XVIe s. — **54** : Archange Michel, orphelinat Amalieion, 2e moitié du XVIe s.

Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο Αθηνών. Κατάλογος. Έκθεση γιά τα Εκατό χρόνια της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας. 6 *Οκτωβρίου* 1984-30 *Ιουνίου* 1985. 1 vol. 22,5 × 22,5 cm, 84 pp., 51 figg. en noir et blanc, 22 pll. en couleurs.

Pour célébrer le centenaire de la Société d'archéologie chrétienne, le Musée byzantin d'Athènes a organisé une exposition de 147 œuvres et objets, pour la plupart acquis ou reçus en dépôt provisoire au cours de la décennie précédente. On y trouvait 2 plaques sculptées (X^e-XIe et XIIIe s.), un fragment de fresque (de la donation de Mme J. Bentley-Zacos, IXe-Xe s., saint Basile ?), des objets en or, en bronze, en argile et en verre, des manuscrits et des icones, crétoises et continentales.

Parmi ces dernières un certain nombre étaient inédites ou peu connues. Nous signalerons ici :

5 : Hodighitria, du XIIIe s., provenant d'une chapelle de la Panagia Zygoti sur le Parnasse, près de Delphes, où Mme Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou inclinerait à voir une œuvre du *despotat d'Epire* plutôt que de Chypre (mais dans *DOP*, 41 [1987], *Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger*, pp. 403-414, MME Doula Mouriki se prononce pour *un artiste chypriote*). — **7** : icone bilatérale, provenant de *Thessalonique* mais qui aurait été exécutée à *Constantinople* au **début du XIVe s.**, avec en A : la Vierge à

l'Enfant et en B (= *L. 17*) : les Trois Hiérarques, qui ont été repeints dans un atelier du N. de la Grèce sur une nouvelle couche à la fin du XVIIe s. Cette dernière couche a été enlevée et redéposée sur un nouveau support en bois par MM. S. Baltoyannis et A. Margaritoff. — **9** : Vierge avec l'Enfant étendu sur le bras droit ; sur le revêtement d'argent se détache l'inscription *AKATA-MAXHTOC* (épithète rare venue de l'hymnographie) ; XIVe s. — **10** : Icone bilatérale, provenant de *Verria*, avec en A : une sainte non identifiée, vêtue du costume impérial (sainte Catherine, sainte Irène ?) et en B : saint Zosime donnant la communion à sainte Marie l'Égyptienne, XIVe-XVe s. — **11** : icone bilatérale provenant aussi de *Verria* et sans doute exécutée en *Macédoine occidentale* (XVe s.). A : saint Nicolas ayant à sa gauche une figure miniature de la Vierge à mi-corps tenant l'*omophorion* (la partie de droite avec le Christ tenant l'Évangile a disparu) ; B : Crucifixion. — **12** : saint Jean Chrysostome en buste, provenant de *Cavalla* (**premier 1/4 du XVe s.**) ; s'apparente à l'art du peintre macédonien *Makarios*. — **13** : Nativité du Christ, achetée en 1976 ; exécutée en *Crète* au XVe s. (on ajoutera que l'icone comparable de la collection Pératicos est reproduite dans le catalogue de l'exposition de Charleroi sous **10** : voir *supra*, p. 516). — **14** : porte d'iconostase provenant de *Messine*. La première couche montrait l'Annonciation en dessous de bustes d'Isaïe et de David, surmontés eux-mêmes de ceux des saints Nicolas et André ; elle a dû être exécutée en *Crète* au **milieu du XVe s.** (avec des éléments d'origine occidentale) ; la deuxième couche, qui a été enlevée et transposée sur un nouveau support, représentait l'Annonciation au-dessus de Moïse et Aaron ; elle semble due à un *atelier du N. de la Grèce* travaillant au XVIIIe s. — **15** : Dormition de saint Isidore (achetée en 1983, chez Sotheby) ; extrêmement intéressante du point de vue iconographique, elle s'inspire à la fois de la Dormition d'Ephrem et de l'*Epitaphios Thrènos* ; on notera aussi la représentation d'une icone de l'Hodighitria sur un *proskynitarion* exactement dans l'axe de la composition ; c'est une de plus belles œuvres du *courant classicisant de la peinture crétoise* de la **2e moitié du XVe s.**, avec peu d'éléments italianisants ; elle est assez proche de la manière d'Andréas Ritzos. — **16** : Hodighitria, de la coll. R. Androulidaki, avec des traits iconographiques de la Vierge de la Passion et des marques de l'influence du gothique tardif (**fin du XVe s.**) ; elle est proche de l'icone d'Oberlin au Musée Allen Memorial : voir Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Venice, the «Madonneri» and a Creto-Venetian Icon in the Albert Art Museum*, dans *Allen Memorial Art Museum, Bulletin Oberlin College*, Winter 1968, pp. 53-86. — **17** : Madone trônant à l'Enfant, coll. P. Pervana, icone *crétoise* du XVe s. — **18** : les Trois Hébreux dans la fournaise (legs Orlandos), *atelier de la Grèce*

continentale des XVe-XVIe **s.** — **19** : saints Georges et Démétrius, provient de *Cavalla*, exécutée dans un *atelier de Macédoine* **fin XVe-début XVIe s.** — **20** : saint Jean Baptiste, provient aussi de *Cavalla*, sortie du *même atelier* que **19**. — **21** (= *L 63*) ; Dormition de la Vierge, de l'église de la Dormition de *Syros* ; nettoyée ar M. S. Baltoyannis : signée *ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ Ο ΔΕΙΞΑΣ*. Mme L. Hadermann-Misguich, dans *Bull. Cl. Beaux-Arts de l'Ac. R. de Belgique*, 5e série, LXIX (1987), p. 45, et M. G. Mastoropoulos (dans *From Byzantium to El Greco*, p. 190, **63**) ont fait observer, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, que la colombe du Saint-Esprit avait été représentée dans la gloire entre les anges, ce qui dénote une influence occidentale. Mme Hadermann (*op. cit.*, p. 63) a rappelé que le retable de Santo Domingo el Antiguo est aussi signé de la même formule avec l'addition de l'adjectif *ΚΡΗC* habituelle dans les signatures du Greco en Espagne. — **22** : apôtre Barthélémy, achetée en 1981, *peut-être de Michel Damaskinos*, **fin du XVIe s.** — **23** : croix d'iconostase de *Thessalonique*, entre la Vierge et saint Jean (les *λυπηρά*), débarrassée de ses repeints de la fin du XIXe ou du début du XXe s., *atelier du N. de la Grèce*, **fin du XVIe s.** — **24** : Présentation de la Vierge au Temple, signée d'*Emmanuel Lambardos* (legs Orlandos), **fin XVIe-début XVIIe s.** — **25** : Dormition de la Vierge, signée également d'*Emmanuel Lambardos*, provient du monastère de Palaiokastritsa à *Corfou*. — **28** : Vierge Hodighitria désignée par l'épithète *Ἐλεούσα*, avec dans le haut des scènes de la découverte miraculeuse de l'icone et de son transfert ; achetée en 1984 ; **fin du XVIIIe s.** C'est la copie fidèle d'une gravure dessinée par *l'artiste serbe Christophe Zograph* et gravée à Vienne par Thomas Messmer en 1749.

From Byzantium to El Greco. Greek Frescoes and Icons. Royal Academy of Arts, London, 27th March-21st June 1987. (Éditeur du catalogue : Mme Myrtali ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU). 1 vol. 22 × 28 cm, 206 pp., 82 pll. en couleurs, 73 figg. en noir et blanc, 1 carte.

Cette exposition avait pour dessein de faire saisir le rôle des artistes byzantins et postbyzantins dans le développement de l'art européen. Constituée fondamentalement d'œuvres provenant de musées, de collections privées, d'églises et de monastères de Grèce, elle comportait aussi 4 icones du British Museum (dont 3 achetées récemment) et d'autres icones appartenant à des collectionneurs résidant à Londres. Une partie des pièces venant de Grèce avait été antérieurement présentée dans un ensemble plus vaste à Athènes en 1986 (catalogue : *Byzantine and Post-byzantine Art* : cf. *Byzantion*, LVII [1987], fasc. 1, pp. 251-254).

L'exposition de la British Academy débutait par *2 battants de porte sculptés en bois* du monastère de l'Olympiotissa à Elasson en Thessalie (datés par une inscription de 1296 ou 1305) et par *5 fresques* : **2** : les saints Côme de Damien de part et d'autre de leur mère, sainte Théodote, sous le Christ Emmanuel ; décor de prothèse, détaché en 1953 des ruines de l'église du Pantocrator au Castro de Zante, fin du XIIe s. ; dans la bibliographie on ajoutera, après Byzantine Art, *1986*. — **3** : un diacre anonyme, provenant de l'église en ruines de Saint-Georges à Palios Oropos en Béotie et conservé au Musée byzantin d'Athènes, 1re moitié du XIIIe s. — **4** : un Père de l'Église, provenant de l'église en ruines de la Vierge à Patso en Crète, maintenant dans la collection de l'église Sainte-Catherine des Sinaïtes à Iraklion, début du XIVe s. — **5** : Ascension provenant de l'église de l'Hodighitria près d'Apolpena à Leucade, aujourd'hui au Musée byzantin d'Athènes, milieu du XVe s. (œuvre d'un peintre qui, tout en restant foncièrement fidèle aux traditions byzantines, a subi l'influence de l'art occidental, ce qui ne surprend pas dans une île qui appartenait au duché de Céphallonie, possession de la famille florentine des Tocchi). — **6** : fresque de l'église de Saint-Nicolas de Verria de Laconie, maintenant au laboratoire de la 5e éphorie des antiquités byzantines à Géraki (1597 ; cf. *Byzantion*, LVII [1987], p. 252, **67**).

Mais l'exposition était composée presque entièrement de *65 icones*, toutes dignes d'intérêt, allant de la 1re moitié du XIIe s. (**7** : Résurrection de Lazare, dans une collection privée d'Athènes) jusqu'à la 1re moitié du XVIIe. Nous retiendrons particulièrement des icones inédites ou peu connues. On observera que, plusieurs d'entre elles, parmi celles du XIVe s., ont été exécutées en Macédoine.

8 : icone bilatérale de la Métropole de Castoria, 2e moitié du XIIe s. ; A : Hodighitria ; B : le Christ de Pitié (dont c'est l'une des plus anciennes représentations). — **9** : saint Georges ramenant à Mytilène, sur la croupe de son cheval, au-dessus des flots de la mer Égée, le jeune garçon originaire de cette île, que les Arabes avaient emmené comme prisonnier en Crète et qui avait été délivré par le saint au moment où il servait à boire à ses maîtres (d'où le gobelet dans la main gauche de l'adolescent) ; œuvre du milieu du XIIIe s., exécutée par *un peintre français travaillant en Orient*, peut-être à Lydda ou à Chypre, *ou d'un artiste byzantin profondément influencé par l'Occident* (icone achetée par le British Museum en 1984). — **10** : Dormition de la Vierge ; coll. archéologique de Castoria, 1re moitié du XIIIe s. (annonce les fresques de Sopočani). — **11** : buste de saint Jean-Baptiste, vu de face (British Museum), sans doute exécuté à Constantinople vers 1300 (par comparaison avec les fresques et les mosaïques de la Pammakaristos : cf.

Byzantion, LVII [1987], p. 505). — **13** : Vierge à l'Enfant (variante de l'Hodighitria), coll. Carras (Athènes), fin XIIIe-début XIVe s., *atelier du N. de la Grèce*. — **14** : Pantocrator, coll. archéologique de Castoria, fin XIIIe-début XIVe s., sans doute exécutée à *Castoria* même. — **15** : Icone bilatérale, Musée archéologique de Verria de Macédoine, provenant de l'église de «Christos» dans cette ville ; A : Hodighitria, début du XIVe s., attribuable au peintre qui a décoré les murs de cette église : *Georges Kalliergis* ; B : Hodighitria, 3e quart du XVIe s., œuvre d'un *peintre anonyme* à qui on devrait plusieurs des meilleures icones et fresques de Verria. — **18** : icone bilatérale de l'église de la Présentation de la Vierge au Temple à Niochori (Rhodes), *atelier de Constantinople*, 2e quart du XIVe s. A : Hodighitria ; B : saint Nicolas. — **26** : Pantocrator (avec l'épithète *CѠTHP*), Musée byzantin d'Athènes, vers 1400. — **27** : Christ de Pitié, coll. privée (Athènes), vers 1400, *atelier de la Macédoine occidentale*. — **28** et **29** : Résurrection de Lazare et Entrée à Jérusalem, coll. arch. de *Castoria*, provenant de l'église des *Ἅγιοι τρεῖς*, exécutées vers 1400 dans *l'atelier local, de tendance anti-classique*, auquel on doit les fresques de cette église et celles de la Phanéroméni dans cette même ville.

30 : Nativité de la collection Pératicos (= Cat. de Charleroi, **10** : voir *supra* p. 516), début du XVe s. L'inscription latine a conduit Mme N. Chatzidakis à supposer que cette icone aurait été destinée à un client italien, peut-être un Vénitien vivant en Crète. — **36** : sainte Anne trônant avec la Vierge et l'Enfant, provenant de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Malos (Zante), *apparentée à la manière d'Angélos*, XVe s. (cf. *Byzantion*, LVII [1987], fasc. 1, p. 252, **103**). — **38** : portes d'iconostase avec les saints Georges et Démétrius, Musée de l'Évanghélistria de Tinos, 2e moitié du XVe s. ; dans la postérité d'Angélos, elles rappellent des œuvres d'*Andréas Ritzos*. — **41** : Vierge du type de l'Hodighitria mais portant l'épithète *Ἐλέουσα*, signée de *Nicolas Lambourdis Spartiate*, peintre connu par cet unique document, qui semble avoir travaillé en Crète à la fin du XVe s. (cf. *Byzantion*, LVII [1987], pp. 252-253, **115**). — **42** : Vierge «Mère de la Consolation», coll. P. Kanellopoulos (Athènes), peinte dans le style du gothique tardif et signée *M(AISTR)O NICOLO ZAFURI*, fin du XVe s., peut-être même exactement 1500 (après le nom de Tzafouris il y a place pour 2 lettres : MD ?). — **45** : Pietà, Musée Bénaki, *attribuable à Nicolas Tzafouris* ; à la bibliographie on ajoutera : Chatzidakis (N.) 1982 (= cat. de l'exposition de Charleroi, **20**). — **46** : Vierge «Mère de la Consolation» avec saint François, Musée byzantin (Athènes), *attribuable à l'atelier de Nicolas Tzafouris* ; la présence de saint François donne à croire que l'icone, qui provient de Crète, a décoré une

église de franciscains ou a appartenu à un membre de la noblesse vénitienne ou crétoise. — **53** : portes d'iconostase, Musée byzantin (Athènes), avec l'Annonciation sous Isaïe et David, saint Nicolas et saint André, XVe s. (on ajoutera à la bibliographie *Ἔκθεση γιά τα εκατό χρόνια της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, pp. 27-28, **14** : cf. *supra* p. 520). — **55** et **56** : Saint Nicolas entre les bustes du Christ tenant l'Évangile et de la Vierge tenant l'*omophorion* ; en **56** une prédelle montre 3 de ses miracles ; ces deux icones sont sonservées dans la chapelle du Palais épiscopal de Jannnina. Elles sont l'œuvre, vers 1500, d'un peintre auquel on doit aussi des icones du monastère de l'Éléousa, dans l'île du lac de Jannina. — **59** : saint Georges à cheval terrassant le dragon, avec le jeune Mytilénien sur la croupe de son cheval (cf. *supra* **9**), coll. Pératicos ; œuvre du début du XVIe s. remontant à un prototype d'Angélos et influencée par Paolo Veneziano dans la représentation du dragon et du cheval. — **62a** : Adoration des Mages, italianisante, signée *Doménicos*, Musée Bénaki. — **63** : Dormition de la Vierge de l'église de la Dormition de Syros, signée de *Doménicos Théotocopoulos* (= *Ἔκθεση γιά τα εκατό χρόνια της Χρ. Αρχ. Ετ.*, **21** : cf. *supra* p. 521) ; l'icone n'est pas venue à Londres mais a été très minutieusement décrite dans le catalogue par G. Mastoropoulos. — **64** : Adoration des Mages, coll. R. Andréadis (Athènes), signée d'*Emmanuel Lambardos* (qui semble le plus ancien des deux peintres de ce nom), fin du XVIe s. ; l'iconographie dérive d'un modèle occidental. — **69** : Triptyque, Musée de la ville d'Athènes, avec une Déisis sur le panneau central, surmontée des bustes des saints Georges et Démétrius ; sur les panneaux latéraux : les saints Grégoire Théologien, Jean Chrysostome, Basile et Spyridon (et extérieurement une Annonciation) ; le traitement assez dur des draperies invite à dater de la fin du XVIe s. cette icone qui dérive de modèles crétois de la fin du XVe. — **70** : triptyque, coll. Yannoukos (Athènes), dont le couronnement sculpté en bois représente le mont Sinaï ; sur le panneau central est peinte une Transfiguration ; sur celui de gauche, l'Anastasis ; sur celui de droite, la Crucifixion. À l'arrière de l'Anastasis ont été figurés trois saints fondateurs du monachisme en Égypte et en Palestine : Antoine, Sabbas et Euthyme ; à l'arrière de la Crucifixion, sainte Catherine en vêtements impériaux. Au sommet du couronnement, Moïse reçoit les Tables de la Loi ; à droite il s'agenouille, près de son troupeau, devant le Buisson ardent, représenté dans le médaillon du milieu et suivi, à gauche, d'un ange. Les traits italianisants de l'iconographie ont fait croire à Mme Laskarina Bouras que ce triptyque daterait du début du XVIIIe s. et pourrait être attribué à *Sylvestros Théocharis*, qui a signé le triptyque **71** contenu dans un autel portatif (coll. privée d'Athènes). Dans ce triptyque le

panneau central montre la Déisis avec le Christ en grand prêtre ; les panneaux latéraux, en dessous d'anges qui sont des amours volant, font voir à gauche : les saints Basile, Jean Chrysostome et Grégoire le Théologien ; à droite : les saints Spyridon, Nicolas et Arsène le Grand. Au revers, sur le panneau de gauche, les saints Pierre et Paul tiennent la maquette d'une église à coupole, surmontée de la Sainte Trinité ; sur le panneau de droite a été figurée la Zôodochos Pighi au-dessus d'infirmes et de malades implorant leur guérison miraculeuse. Sur le peintre qui signait Silvestros ou Sylvestros Théocharis voir M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, pp. 120-121 : cf. *supra* p. 514). — **72** et **73** : poncifs inédits du Musée Bénaki (XVIIe s.) provenant de la collection Xyngopoulos et représentant, l'un l'Anastasis, l'autre le Baptême.

Le catalogue débute par 3 introductions dues respectivement à Manolis CHATZIDAKIS, Myrtali ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU et Robin CORMACK, qui, de points de vue différents, ont souligné l'intérêt de l'exposition. Viennent ensuite 10 «essais» : Anna AVRAMEA, *La Grèce Byzantine* ; Robert BROWNING, *Byzance et la Grèce ancienne* ; Cyril MANGO, *Le culte des icones* ; le Rév. Kallistos WARE, *La théologie et la spiritualité de l'icone* ; Manolis CHATZIDAKIS, *La peinture murale byzantine en Grèce* ; Myrtali ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Les icones byzantines* ; Chrysa MALTEZOU, *Le monde grec et la domination latine* ; Nano CHATZIDAKIS, *La peinture d'icones en Crète aux XVe et XVIe s.* : Maria CONSTANDOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES, *Le goût et le commerce des icones crétoises aux XVe et XVIe s.* (d'après les documents des archives de Venise, que l'auteur a si bien exploités dans ses articles de *Θησαυρίσματα*, dont on regrette un peu qu'ils n'aient pas été repris dans la bibliographie finale ; ce commerce s'est étendu jusqu'en Flandre ; très florissant à la fin du XVe s., il ne semble pas avoir continué avec la même intensité au XVIe, conséquence du changement du goût intervenu avec la Renaissance dans le public non seulement d'Europe occidentale mais aussi de Crète) ; Laskarina BOURAS, *Dessins de travail des peintres en Grèce après la chute de Constantinople* (Mme L. B. signale l'existence de 3 importantes collections de ces dessins : au Musée byzantin d'Athènes, plus de 3.000 ; au Musée Bénaki : 2 portefeuilles ; à Londres, dans la collection de S. Mihalarias : quelque 150 dessins ; elle insiste sur l'intérêt des dessins contenus dans les 2 portefeuilles du Musée Bénaki ; ici encore les archives de Venise nous apportent de précieux renseignements : ainsi nous savons que des dessins d'Angélos ont été légués à son frère Jean, qui, à son tour, a vendu 54 dessins à Andréas Ritzos ; nous saisissons mieux de la sorte les modalités de la transmission des types iconographiques).

À cette exposition avaient été ajoutées 5 icones de *Chypre*, présentées dans un dépliant de deux pages, avec illustration en couleurs, par M. A. Papageorghiou (*Icon Painting in Cyprus*) : 2 icones du monastère de saint Néophyte, datant de 1138 : Christ Philanthropos et Vierge Éléousa ; et 3 icones du Musée byzantin de Paphos : Vierge Hodighitria, avec l'épithète Éléousa (1re moitié du XIIIe s.), Vierge Hodighitria (XIIIe-XIVe s.) et saint Jean Baptiste vu de face (XVe s.).

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Le byzantinisme du Greco à la lumière de découvertes récentes*, dans le *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* de l'*Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5e série, t. LXIX (1987), 1-2, pp. 42-64, 11 figg.

Partant de la découverte dans l'île de Skyros d'une icone de la Dormition de la Vierge signée de Doménicos Théotocopoulos (cf. *supra* p. 521 [*Ἔκθεση*, ... **21**] et p. 524 [*From Byzantium* ..., **63**]), Mme L. H.-M. a repris le problème du byzantinisme du Greco, dont elle avait déjà traité dans la *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* d'août-septembre 1954 (pp. 445-471). Elle a mis en lumière les «structures formelles» et les «détails iconographiques byzantins» qui expliquent «certaines des particularités d'une peinture appartenant, par ailleurs, au maniérisme occidental et illustrant de façon profondément originale les grands thèmes de la Contre-Réforme» (p. 43). Se fondant principalement sur les documents d'archives publiés par M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides (dans *Θησαυρίσματα*, XII [1975], pp. 292-308) et par C. D. Mertzios (*Arte veneta*, XV [1961], p. 217) elle a rappelé quelques grandes dates de la biographie du peintre : 1541, naissance à Candie, où il était encore en 1566 ; départ de Crète sans doute en 1567, à l'âge de 26 ans ; 18 août 1568 : présence à Venise. «Avant de partir pour Venise il exerça donc bien le métier de peintre byzantin» (p. 44). C'est à cette époque que l'on doit non seulement l'icone de Syros mais le *Saint Luc peignant la Vierge* et l'*Adoration des Mages du Musée Bénaki*, œuvre dont Mme H.-M. a fort subtilement analysé les éléments dus à l'héritage de la peinture des Paléologues et les traits italianisants. «Dès le départ Théotocopoulos s'affirma ... par une présence formelle que n'atteindra jamais son compatriote et probablement aîné» Michel Damaskinos (p. 47).

«L'étape suivante» en Italie (à Venise, probablement de 1567 à 1570, à Rome, de 1570 aux environs de 1576-1577) «marqua, dans la carrière de l'artiste, une distanciation certaine vis-à-vis de sa formation de peintre d'icones ... La recherche de byzantinismes dans sa production d'alors se solde la plupart du temps par un constat de «fautes» par rapport à l'idéal

occidental, surtout en ce qui concerne la conception de l'espace et de la perspective ... L'œuvre italienne pour laquelle il reste ... le plus plausible de se poser la question du substrat byzantin est le *Polyptyque de Modène*, ... signé *XEIP DOMHNIKOY*» (pp. 44-45), dont l'attribution au Maître, parfois contestée, est confirmée par la présence de plusieurs éléments d'origine crétoise, même si «la facture et le style dénotent ... une forte influence vénitienne et déjà l'affirmation d'une sensibilité esthétique imprégnée des valeurs de la peinture occidentale» (p. 53). Dans le Mont Sinaï au revers du panneau central, «les deux univers culturels de l'artiste s'interpénètrent en une création visionnaire qui préfigure les réalisations tolédanes» (p. 52).

Pour la période espagnole, Mme H.-M. a considéré «le problème du byzantinisme selon deux axes ; celui de la conception de l'espace et celui de l'iconographie ... qui témoignent de la résurgence d'un byzantinisme profond» (p. 53). Elle a bien fait ressortir que les cernes et les échos formels à l'intérieur d'un plan ou de plans parallèles, qui «appartiennent au langage esthétique de la peinture byzantine ... sont un des moyens d'expression constants de l'art du Greco dans sa maturité» (pp. 55, 58). Dans le domaine de l'iconographie nombreuses sont les formules venues de Byzance : Buisson ardent dans l'Annonciation, hache appuyée contre l'arbre dans le Baptême ; nimbes en losange du Christ, «glissement et transposition» de la Transfiguration à la Résurrection, du Baiser de Judas à l'*Espolio*, de la Dormition de la Vierge à l'Enterrement du comte d'Orgaz, du Mandylion au Voile de Véronique.

«Issu de l'univers culturel d'un Georges Klotsas, l'art du Greco s'est dépouillé en Italie du caractère hybride que présentent même les meilleures des œuvres crétoises lorsqu'elles renoncent à la pure esthétique des Paléologues. Il a adopté profondément le langage formel italien. En Espagne s'est opérée la décantation qui a libéré son génie» (p. 64).

Manolis CHATZIDAKIS, *Une icone avec les trois inventions de la tête du Prodrome à Lavra*, dans *Cahiers archéologiques*, 36 (1988), pp. 85-97, 11 figg.

M. Ch. publie une icone inédite de Lavra, qu'il date de la *seconde moitié du XIVe s.* et attribue à un atelier de *Constantinople*. D'une «qualité picturale exceptionnelle», elle est la seule connue jusqu'à présent où les 3 inventions sont réunies en un seul tableau. En dépit de certaines différences, la «relation» est «étroite» avec la description des 3 sujets donnée par Denys de Phourna.

Charles DELVOYE.

COMPTES RENDUS

Dictionnaire de la grécité médiévale

Ἐμμανουὴλ ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669*. Thessalonique, 1988, Tome X, LXIV-408 pp.

Depuis sa première apparition en librairie, nous avons eu plaisir à signaler la publication par notre confrère thessalonicien Emm. Kriaras de ce magistral dictionnaire de la grécité médiévale qui, couvrant la période 1100 (date que Sophocles avait prise comme limite de son *Greek Lexicon*) – 1669 (année de l'occupation de la Crète qui complétait ainsi la domination ottomane sur la chrétienté grecque des Balkans et affaiblissait peu à peu la tradition byzantine), relève le vocabulaire de la langue populaire non, cependant, sans d'inévitables débordements sur des états de langue voisins (langage puriste de documents civils et religieux, lexique technique, etc.). Le tome X qui vient de sortir de presse nous conduit jusqu'au lemme *μόνανδρος*.

On ne peut manquer d'être admiratif devant la régularité qui a caractérisé la parution – bisannuelle à peu de chose près – des dix premiers volumes (ce qui représente déjà quelque 4.750 pages !). Kriaras a maintenu le cap contre vents et marées ; on se doute cependant que les difficultés n'ont pas manqué : soucis scientifiques pour la collecte des sources, l'enrichissement et l'exploitation des données, le choix des collaborateurs, la correction des épreuves mais aussi quête des crédits propres à subvenir aux besoins d'un budget aussi considérable.

On peut estimer que nous sommes aujourd'hui à mi-parcours de la réalisation de ce monumental ouvrage. C'est là une étape importante et c'est sans doute ce qui a incité l'auteur à présenter ce volume sous une forme un peu exceptionnelle puisque moins de la moitié de l'ensemble (224 pages sur 472) est consacré cette fois au dictionnaire proprement dit (de *μεγαλυνίσκω* à *μόνανδρος*). Les 64 premières pages sont essentiellement constituées par les compléments de la bibliographie (on en arrive ainsi au numéro 3201) et la résolution des nombreuses abréviations employées ; en fin de volume (pp. 1*-144*) figurent les additions et corrections se rapportant à la matière

des tomes I à X ainsi qu'un index alphabétique (pp. 145*-180*) permettant de retrouver aisément ces références.

Sauf erreur de notre part, nous n'avons pas trouvé mention, parmi les sources récemment publiées, de la «Comédie de Kattablattas», diatribe savoureuse due vraisemblablement à Jean Argyropoulos et restée quasi inconnue jusqu'à ce que P. Canivet et N. Oikonomidès en aient donné en 1982-1983 à Athènes, dans *Δίπτυχα* (périodique qui est cependant mentionné par Kriaras à la p. *λδ'* de son introduction), une édition avec traduction française et commentaire (cf. ici-même, t. LVII, 1987, pp. 549-550, compte rendu par A. Leroy-Molinghen). Or il s'agit bien d'un texte qui, composé entre 1430 et 1440, rentre dans les limites chronologiques du Kriaras et qui, d'autre part, est un exemple typique et assez exceptionnel de langue populaire, virulente, parfois même d'une vulgarité obscène : référence pourrait y être faite pour de nombreux termes, comme *μῆλον*, *μνημόσυνον*, etc.

Terminons en félicitant une fois de plus les éditeurs pour la clarté de la mise en pages, qualité essentielle pour un ouvrage de ce type (p. 182*, dernière ligne : lire 181* au lieu de 182*).

Maurice LEROY.

Homélies de Léonce, prêtre de Constantinople

Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae ; ed. Cornelis DATEMA et Pauline ALLEN (= *Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca*, 17), Turnhout-Leuven, 1987, 470 pp.

Les professeurs Datema et Allen viennent de publier 14 homélies (I-XIV) provenant toutes sans exception d'un certain Léonce ; ce personnage fut prêtre à Constantinople et doit sans doute être situé vers le milieu du VIe siècle. Les théologiens aimeront savoir que lorsque l'occasion s'en présente, il s'attaque à Arius, au pneumatomaque Marathonius, aux Sabbatiens et aux Juifs. Six de ses sermons sont imprimés ici pour la première fois, tandis que la plupart des autres n'étaient connus jusqu'ici que par des éditions tantôt peu accessibles, tantôt peu sûres. C'est déjà dire toute l'importance de ce nouveau volume du *CCSG*.

Bien que dans quelques témoins les homélies III, IX et X apparaissent sous d'autres noms que celui de leur auteur (Léonce de Jérusalem, Jean Chrysostome, Léonce de Neapolis), l'attribution des n^os^ I-XI à Léonce de Constantinople est assurée par la tradition manuscrite. La question de l'auteur était autrement difficile dans le cas des homélies XII, XIII et XIV,

puisque celles-ci sont invariablement attribuées à Jean Chrysostome. Toutefois, en comparant style et contenu, on découvre tellement de ressemblances avec les textes de Léonce, qu'il ne peut rester de doute sur la paternité de ces trois pièces. M. Sachot a été le premier à s'en rendre compte pour les homélies XII et XIV ; Datema et Allen y ajoutent aujourd'hui leur homélie XIII et fournissent de nouveaux arguments, plus décisifs que ceux avancés jadis par Sachot, en faveur de l'attribution du n° XII.

Les homélies I-XI, celles donc que la tradition attribue explicitement à Léonce, sont très inégalement réparties sur une centaine de manuscrits : le n° I, par exemple, ne se lit que dans deux témoins, mais on a repéré 52 copies de l'homélie X. Il en va à peu près de même pour les trois pièces mises à tort sous le nom de Chrysostome (au moins 6 témoins pour le n° XII, 1 pour le n° XIII et 18 témoins utilisés pour le n° XIV). La dispersion des textes a obligé les éditeurs à traiter individuellement la tradition de chaque homélie (description des témoins, établissement d'un stemma, et, le cas échéant, démonstration de l'authenticité). Grâce à ces efforts, le texte grec a pu être reconstitué de façon très convaincante. Signalons également la politique sage des éditeurs en matière de corrections et de conjectures (voir par exemple le n° XIII, conservé dans un seul manuscrit de qualité très médiocre), ainsi que la mise en page spéciale, destinée à faire ressortir certaines caractéristiques du style de Léonce (parallélismes, antithèses, symétrie). L'édition sera donc le point de référence obligé pour déterminer si d'autres pièces encore peuvent être attribuées au même prédicateur.

Pour conclure ce modeste compte rendu, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur quelques passages du texte grec où l'on peut se demander si les éditeurs ont bien adopté la meilleure solution ; bien sûr il s'agit de détails n'affectant en aucun cas notre appréciation globale de l'ouvrage. Ainsi Datema et Allen n'ont-ils pas été trop conservateurs en admettant dans le texte de II, 88 (p. 88) la forme *καθήψας* (participe aoriste avec augment de *καθάπτω* [cf. *Act., 28, 3*]) ? Le passage en question ne figure somme toute que dans un seul manuscrit (*H*) aussi tardif (XVIe siècle) que peu brillant (voir apparat critique). De même, la correction *καύσῃ*, proposée dans l'apparat critique de XI, 298 (p. 357), devrait remplacer la leçon des manuscrits (*ἀκούσῃ*) : le parallélisme créé ainsi entre les mots *οὐχ ἵνα καύσῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα διδάξῃ* et *οὐ πυρπολοῦντα ἀλλ' ὁδηγοῦντα* (II, 295-296 [p. 356]) est sûrement un argument en faveur de la correction. En XIV, 37 (p. 434), l'emploi du génitif *ἐξοχῆς* est très étrange, surtout que l'on retrouve en XIII, 258-259 (p. 404) — dans la même petite phrase — le datif *ἐξοχῇ*. Nous avons été quelque peu surpris par l'absence d'un nom ou d'un pronom (*Χριστόν, αὐτὸν* par

exemple) auquel rattacher le participe *κεκτημένον* de III, 95 (p. 158). En XIII, 15 (p. 397), le parallélisme pourrait être renforcé si l'on ajoutait un *καὶ* devant *χηρείαν*. En ce qui concerne la ponctuation, nous ne voyons pas la nécessité de considérer la section *Ἔδει μέν σε — λαχόντα* (I, 174-176 [p. 74]) comme une question. Enfin, en XIII, 225 (p. 403), l'accent du mot *Δαυΐδ* est tombé.

José DECLERCK.

Études de l'économie monétaire byzantine

Michael F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy*, c. 300-1450, C.U.P., 1985, XXI + 774 pp., 36 plates.

La numismatique, l'étude des monnaies, n'est, selon l'auteur pas une fin mais un moyen, et se justifie par sa contribution à la connaissance de la civilisation au sein de laquelle celles-ci furent créées et utilisées. Cependant, l'absence complète, pour le domaine byzantin, de certaines catégories de documents bien représentées pour l'Occident suggère de laisser, au moins provisoirement, de côté un certain nombre de questions qui préoccupent les autres numismates, pour s'intéresser à des problèmes qui cadrent mieux avec la documentation qui a survécu.

Par ailleurs, supposer que l'économie monétaire byzantine fonctionnait, en gros, comme les économies libres d'aujourd'hui, basées et axées sur le commerce, et obéissant aux mêmes lois serait une erreur, comme aussi de confondre, dans le cadre de l'Empire byzantin, économie monétaire et économie tout court, ou même de supposer que la première ait constitué le noyau de la seconde.

M. Hendy, dans cet ouvrage réfléchi et solidement charpenté, propose un modèle où elle a une fonction, fort importante sans doute, mais strictement limitée. La production monétaire était essentiellement et toujours dictée par le *modus operandi* du fisc, et par les besoins de l'administration et de l'armée. Fournir au public un moyen d'échange commode est tout à fait secondaire. L'auteur note que la proportion de la population byzantine qui utilisait la monnaie nous échappe totalement, et que, en général, les *coinage-using habits* de cette population n'ont guère été étudiées.

M. Hendy développe sa thèse à l'aide d'un répertoire exceptionnellement riche de données puisées dans des sources de toutes catégories. *It ... may be thought*, écrit-il, *that a disproportionate amount of time, energy and space has been expended for the ... establishment and collation of a number of additional facts, and the elucidation of a few basic principles or patterns, only ... It is, of*

course, exceedingly difficult to recover the smallest and simplest principle or pattern from even an enormous number of raw historical facts ... On the other hand such a recovery is perhaps one degree easier, and is certainly at least on degree surer, when using the widest possible spread of different classes of evidence, than when using one class only (p. 553).

Quatre grands thèmes sont abordés successivement. En premier lieu, *Economy and society*, en deux chapitres : *The land* (i. *The modern situation*, ii. *The mediaeval situation (fertility and infertility)*, iii. *The mediaeval situation (agricultural and pastoralism)* suivi de : *The basic geography of settlement and society*. La seconde étude est intitulée *Finance*. Le contexte économique et financier solidement établi, l'auteur en vient à la monnaie et à ses problèmes spécifiques : *Coinage (circulation)* et *Coinage (production)*. Ces deux chapitres techniques, intéressent non seulement la monnaie mais aussi l'administration. Le livre s'achève par plus de 150 pages intitulées *Preliminary observations, future directions*. Six *indices* en rendent le maniement comme livre de référence extrêmement aisé ; notons en particulier *5A. Imperial institutions, offices and ranks* et *5B. Technical terms and unusual words*. Le numéro 6, *General index*, est un peu maigre, mais il suffit, en fait, de passer par *3. Places (ancient and med.)* : si, par exemple, ce sont les *bouchers* qui vous intéressent voir *Constantinople*.

La géographie de l'empire byzantin fait, depuis longtemps, l'objet de travaux importants, et M. H. ne se fait pas faute de reconnaître sa dette à leur égard, d'une part, l'éventail de sources offert aujourd'hui à l'historien est d'une étendue sans précédent, d'autre part, le centre d'intérêt de l'ouvrage amenait l'auteur à introduire des perspectives encore peu utilisées en géographie byzantine. *It may be thought*, écrit-il, *that I have wandered far from the customary or even proper preserve of the numismatist, in discussing such problems as erosion, predominant forms of land-use, and XIIth and XIIIth c. frontiers ... But the nature of the basic resources of the economy, the area in which these resources were concentrated, the methods by which – and the degree to which – they were exploited, and the effect that the possession, gain or loss of these areas might or did have upon the finances of the state ... are all questions of perfectly legitimate concern to the numismatist ...*» (p. 13), en effet : *it is at this level that certain parameters which are likely to have impinged upon the nature and functioning of the monetary economy of an ancient or mediaeval – or indeed any pre-industrial – society tend to begin to set* (p. 554).

Dans cette perspective les rapprochements avec les données relativement abondantes concernant les mêmes régions, à l'époque moderne sont fécond.

Un exemple : d'après *late nineteenth-century (that is basically pre-railway) reports ... in c. 1890, it is recorded of the* vilayet *of Sivas (Sebastea), that 1* tonne *of grain, costing at most 40 (gold) francs at Sivas ... cost 140/160 francs on arrival at Samsun (Amisus). The distance covered, some 346 km along what appears to have been a Roman/Byzantine and Selçuk route ... effectively tripled or quadrupled its price ... It is remarked specifically ... that the process was very rarely gone through, except when grain of a very special quality, or presumably famine conditions elsewhere, were involved.* Ils sont susceptibles d'ajouter une autre dimension : *But this presumably also benefited the large landowner who might possess both the technical knowledge and the financial capacity for the production of special grains, and the facilities for long-distance transport* (p. 557). S'agissant de produits à rapport poids / prix aussi contraignant que celui du grain, une simple différence de qualité ne justifiait vraisemblablement pas la multiplication du prix qu'apportait le transport à distance, mais l'investissement dans la famine autre part est très bien attesté ; qu'on se souvienne des termes précis employés par Attaliate s'emportant contre le *phoundax* de Nicéphoritzès.

Trente cartes, sur une totalité de trente-six, illustrent ce chapitre, et on relève, à côté des classiques *Distribution de la précipitation* ou de la température etc., une carte telle que : *Anatolia : magnates' origins and estate (to c. 1100).*

Le commerce, avec ce qu'il implique pour la distribution et la circulation de la monnaie, est alors abordé. L'auteur postule, comme moteur principal, l'approvisionnement de Constantinople qu'il est plausible, écrit-il, de supposer assuré dans une large mesure contre espèces, et pose la question : les sources autorisent-elles de conclure à une distribution monétaire appréciable, avec, comme résultat, une économie à base monétaire dans les différentes régions, ou dans celles, au moins, qui contribuaient de façon importante à satisfaire les besoins de la capitale ? *It seems clear that the basic provisioning of CP with the staples of the Mediterranean diet (... wheat, wine and olive-oil, and with mutton and pork) on a commercial basis was not only problematic for the state (a fact which even a cursory glance at The Book of the Prefect reveals), but also must have had a very considerable impact upon the economies of both Anatolia and the Balkans. But it seems equally clear that this impact must be understood within the basic parameters of an ancient or mediaeval economy...* (p. 561).

Pour la section *Finance*, je me bornerai à citer quelques sous-titres : dans la première partie, *The budget*, les sous-sous-titres iv. *Items of regular revenue and expenditure*, v. *Items and descriptions of occasional largesse* et vi. *Private*

wealth; du second, *The limiting factors*, i. *Extraordinary expenditure*, ii. *Internal and external disruption*, iii. *Sources of ready cash*, iv. *The banking community*.

Toutefois, dans cette section, il y a, me semble-t-il, un petit ensemble d'informations que l'auteur utilise sans suffisamment, mettre en garde le lecteur, sans, peut-être se rendre compte lui-même à quel point elles invitent à la méfiance. Différentes sources font état, pour certains règnes, chiffres à l'appui, d'une réserve présente dans le trésor. Il est évident que, dans un ouvrage consacré à l'économie monétaire, on ne saurait les passer sous silence. Cependant ces chiffres sont aussi délicats à apprécier que ceux fournis par les mêmes sources pour les armées en campagne. À la différence de la plupart des autres données numériques, aucun élément externe ne permet de les étayer. Cela ne veut pas dire que ces affirmations doivent être systématiquement négligées. Par contre, il faut être particulièrement attentif à toute intention sous-jacente. Procope, Lydus, Psellos, Choniates pouvaient assurément avoir accès à l'information en question ; mais tous, notoirement, manipulent les données. Je ne m'arrêterai ici qu'à la célèbre réserve qui aurait été accumulée par Théophile et Théodora successivement. Certes, notre source, l'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les historiens à sa solde, avaient accès aux archives, mais leur but en écrivant l'histoire de Michel était de justifier sa mort de la main de Basile. En outre, même en tenant compte de cela, les passages faisant état de la réserve inspirent une méfiance toute particulière, et on ne saurait douter que la soi-disant prodigalité criminelle de Michel III puisant dans les deniers publics fut un thème de prédilection de la propagande de Basile.

La somme alléguée, l'importante réserve prétendûment accumulée au moment où Michel éloigna sa mère du pouvoir, comme le vide du trésor auquel aurait été confronté Basile, l'envoi à la fonte du platane et des lions en or, tout, sans exception, est sujet à caution. (J'examine cette question de façon plus détaillée dans une note, *Michael III and money*, à paraître dans *Byzantinoslavica*, 1989).

Il faut aussi se méfier d'Attaliate, dont la mauvaise foi est flagrante. Certes, il affirme que Nicéphorizès utilisait l'Hebdomon comme *κέντρον καὶ ταμεῖον* pour les *κτήσεις* dont il avait spolié les propriétaires légitimes (HENDY, 220 et n. 343) : mais nous savons que l'Hebdomon n'était pas simplement un monastère, et un chrysobulle d'Alexis I montre qu'il abritait — à la fin du XIe s. au moins — un siège administratif analogue à celui du Myrélaion : il s'agit d'enregistrement de biens immobiliers et non de dépôt d'objets

précieux ; mais enregistrement dans l'intérêt du fisc, sans doute, présenté sous la plume d'Attaliate, comme vol et spoliation (1).

Les deux sections qui suivent relèvent de la numismatique au sens strict du terme. Le premier (*Circulation : Supply. Supervision*), partant de l'observation que l'économie monétaire byzantine était une économie fermée, en analyse les mécanismes, d'une part pour la monnaie en métal précieux, d'autre part pour le fiduciaire, en portant une attention particulière à la disponibilité comme à tout ce qui freinait ou, au contraire, stimulait la circulation. Sous *Supervision* notons les sous-titres : *Forgery, Weights and measures, Sealed and loose coin, 'Irrationality', Production* également comporte deux divisions : *Administrative basis*, suivi d'un important historique de la production monétaire (pp. 448 à 547).

La section *Preliminary observations, future directions* constitue à la fois un approfondissement de certaines questions abordées sous une forme plus audacieuse que celle qu'a développée l'auteur dans les deux premiers chapitres, et une réflexion sur les résultats acquis et sur les voies qu'il estime avoir le plus d'impact sur la recherche.

Patricia KARLIN-HAYTER.

La vie de Sainte Irène Abbesse de Chrysobalanton

ROSENQVIST (Jan Olof), *The Life of Saint Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton.* A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksall, Stockholm, 1986 (Acta Univers. Upsaliensis, Studia Byz. Upsaliensia, 1), LXXVI + 175 pp.

We are always grateful for a critical edition of scholarly merit, and achieved with benefit of the numerous facilities and advantages denied our predecessors and available to us, today. That being said, I will admit that I am confident this edition is all that, but I have done no checking.

There are many Lives awaiting modern editing, J. O. Rosenqvist has chosen this one, for its literary merits. It makes quite enjoyable reading, but I do not entirely agree with the author that its literary merit is exceptional,

(1) *ἐπιβραβεύβει γὰρ τούτῳ ... ἡ ἡμῶν θεοσέβεια τὸν παρόντα εὐσ. χρυσόβουλλον λόγον, δι' οὗ ἐπικυροῖ τὸ τοῦ μακ. βασιλέως τοῦ Βοτανειάτου πιττάκιον, τὸ πρὸς τὸ σεκρέτον τοῦ Ἑβδόμου καταπέμφθεν περὶ τὸν μάρτιον μῆνα τῆς τρίτης ἰνδ.* [1080], Chrysobull delivered to St. Christodule, March VIIIth ind. 6593 [1085], M.M. 6, VII, pp. 23-5, l.c. 24, l. 8.

any number of others can, I think, compete, and a taste for Byzantine novelettes need no longer be kept secret as a shameful vice.

Personally, however, I find it more interesting as a medical document, an aspect of the Life R. dismisses, I think, without a fair appreciation of its interest. There are, in Byzantine pious literature, a certain number of remarkable documents, psychological case-histories. Both the techniques used by Irene herself to achieve mystical experiences and the treatment given the girl from Cappadocia are fascinating. The latter forestalls 'deprogramming' techniques that have been used in the very recent past, whether on G.I.s, former prisoners of communist states, or on minors, in an attempt to prise them away from various sects. The butter-wouldn't-melt-in-the-narrator's-mouth way in which the phony miracles are related is a joy. Irene is awful.

Remarkable, again, is the fact that the author of this Life written under Basil II, however garbled his facts, assumes he can interest people in his heroine by associating her with Michael III and the beauty contest, and marrying her sister to Bardas. Under Leo VI, at the beginning of his reign at any rate, they were relevant. Had presence at that contest acquired a place in folklore ? (Requoting Ryden, expresses doubts of its ever having taken place, they might well be right, see below).

The Introduction is largely devoted to the Gouber family. R. also remarks : "It might be significant that this patriarch [Photios] is not mentioned in V[ita] I[renes] whereas Ignatios plays an important role". *A priori*, at the date of composition of the *Vita*, anti-Photian feeling would be unexpected, but there is quite often a hint in the sources of long survival of partisan feelings.

R. collects a number of parallels to various aspects of the *Vita*, but I think "brilliant" would be better than "bright" to qualify the future promised the infant Constantine the Paphlagonian (p. LXXII). He did indeed rise to be *parakoimomenos* and the empress-regent's right hand, as a reward of his father's virtue. This father saw all his neighbours blessed with little male children they could castrate and educate, to be the succour of their old age. And he prayed for a little male child — to no avail for several years. Then he performed this act of conspicuous virtue, and that very night an angel appeared to him as he slept, and said "You shall have a male child, and you shall do what you like with him".

The information on the sudden development of the cult a few years ago is interesting.

P. KARLIN-HAYTER.

Jean Cantacuzène réfutations de Prochore Cydones et correspondance avec Paul de Calabre

Iohannis Cantacuzeni Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo patriarcha latino epistulis septem tradita ; ed. E. VOORDECKERS-Fr. TINNEFELD (= *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 16), Turnhout-Leuven, 1987, CXIX-281 pp.

L'histoire de la présente édition débuta il y a 25 ans environ, lorsque M. E. Voordeckers examina l'œuvre théologique de Jean VI Cantacuzène (ca. 1295-1383), s'intéressant particulièrement à la correspondance que «l'empereur et moine» a entretenue avec Paul de Calabre ; ce dernier fut patriarche latin de Constantinople de 1366 à 1370. En 1982, à la demande de M. Voordeckers, empêché de procéder lui-même à l'édition du texte grec de ces lettres, M. Fr. Tinnefeld reprit le travail sous sa propre responsabilité ; comme, dans les manuscrits, la correspondance est presque toujours précédée par deux autres ouvrages de Cantacuzène, à savoir les traités dirigés contre Prochore Cydonès, le savant allemand n'a pas hésité à inclure ceux-ci dans son projet d'édition. Le regroupement est parfaitement justifié : les trois pièces datent de la même époque (*Refut. I*: entre juillet 1367 et avril 1368 ; *Refut. II*: entre avril 1368 et l'hiver 1370/1371 ; *Disp.* : entre septembre 1368 et septembre 1369), elles traitent des mêmes sujets (la nature de la lumière que les apôtres Pierre, Jacques et Jean ont vue lors de la Transfiguration, la différence entre substance divine et énergie divine, ...), et leur auteur y cite souvent les mêmes extraits des Pères.

Prochore Cydonès était le frère cadet de l'illustre Démétrios Cydonès, ministre de Jean Cantacuzène et homme de lettres. Moine au monastère de Lavra (Mont Athos), Prochore s'en prenait ouvertement à la doctrine de Palamas, laquelle, en 1351, avait été adoptée par l'Église byzantine. Les difficultés ne se firent pas attendre : Prochore fut chassé du Mont Athos, combattu par les écrits de Jean Cantacuzène, et finalement condamné lors d'un synode réuni à Constantinople en 1368 ; il mourut quelques années plus tard. Sa critique du Palamisme, laquelle était d'ordre rationnel, faisait principalement appel au syllogisme. D'après Prochore, c'était là le seul moyen, de compenser le fait que, contrairement aux apôtres, nous sommes coupés de toute expérience directe de la Révélation. Offusqué par ces propos, Jean Cantacuzène défendra la valeur de la tradition : celui qui veut dire quelque chose sur Dieu, doit recourir à l'Écriture et à l'enseignement des Pères, plutôt qu'à sa propre intelligence. Ce conflit de méthode n'est certainement pas l'aspect le moins intéressant de la dispute.

M. Tinnefeld a examiné dix-sept manuscrits, dont huit, quasi contemporains de la date de composition des ouvrages, se sont avérés utiles pour l'établissement du texte. Sur plus d'un point, la tradition manuscrite réserve des surprises. Ainsi, pour la *Refut. I*, l'éditeur a pu disposer de l'exemplaire de travail de Jean Cantacuzène, l'actuel *Par.gr. 1247* (f. 85^{r}-148^{r}). Grâce à ce témoin, on sait que la pièce a reçu sa forme définitive en trois étapes : une première rédaction (*A*) a été suivie par des corrections dans le texte ainsi que par de nombreuses et importantes additions dans les marges (A^{2}) ; parfois les textes additionnels ont à leur tour fait l'objet d'un certain nombre de corrections (A^{3}). À l'exception de quelques lignes qui sont peut-être de la main de l'empereur lui-même, texte et corrections ont été dictés à un *amanuensis*, de sorte que le *Par.gr. 1247* n'est pas un autographe à proprement parler. Six autres manuscrits, contenant soit les trois ouvrages (*Par.gr. 1241*, *Vat. gr. 673* et *674*, *Met.*, *Hag. Triad.*, 1), soit les *Refut. I* et *II* (*Mosqu., Mus. hist., gr. 143 Savva* [*233 Vlad.*]), soit seulement la *Disp.* (*Athon., Vatop. 347*), furent copiés par Manuel Tzykandilès sur l'ordre de Jean Cantacuzène, lequel voulait assurer ainsi une diffusion rapide à ses écrits. Enfin, comme à l'époque où les copies virent le jour, Tzykandilès et Jean Cantacuzène se trouvaient tous deux à Mistra, on ne peut exclure qu'un certain nombre des particularités qui se constatent dans les copies du *Par.gr. 1247*, remontent à l'auteur lui-même. L'édition posait donc des problèmes bien spéciaux, tant au niveau de la relation entre les manuscrits qu'en ce qui concerne la présentation du texte. L'éditeur les a résolus de façon tout à fait satisfaisante.

Notre jugement sur la qualité du texte grec établi par M. Tinnefeld, repose sur deux critères, à savoir sur la collation des trois folios du *Par.gr. 1247* reproduits face à la p. L, ainsi que sur la lecture attentive de l'ensemble. Le texte du manuscrit *A* réapparaît parfaitement dans le livre ; la seule imprécision que nous ayons remarquée, concerne *Refut. I*, 64, 25 (p. 96), où l'apparat critique rend incorrectement l'état du texte en A^{3} (*ἔχεσθαί σε νενόμισθαι*). La lecture de l'ensemble nous a révélé quelques autres imperfections encore. Ainsi, en deux endroits, la ponctuation semble en désaccord avec le sens des propos. Le cas le plus grave se situe dans une citation de Basile de Césarée. M. Tinnefeld y a considéré les mots *Ἐὰν δέ τις ... ἐκκλησία* (*Refut. II*, 25, 67-69 [p. 152]) comme une phrase autonome, là où en réalité ces mots constituent le sujet de *ἐκ τοῦ γεγράφθαι τῇ πίστει* (il s'agit d'ailleurs d'un passage presque littéralement repris au Symbole de Nicée). En *Refut. I*, 49, 56 (p. 74), l'adverbe *μόνον* doit aller avec *ἔλεγε* plutôt qu'avec le génitif absolu *ἀπόντος τοῦ προσδιορισμοῦ*. Lorsqu'un

même extrait des Pères est cité en plusieurs endroits différents, il arrive que ponctuation et même division en paragraphes varient. Ceci est notamment le cas dans un passage de l'*Ad Ablabium* de Grégoire de Nysse. En *Refut. I*, 42, 29 (p. 60) et *Dis., Ep. Cant. I*, 4, 47 (p. 180), l'éditeur y met un point en haut de la ligne après le mot *σωτηρία* ; en *Refut. II*, 16, 95 (p. 137), on trouve, plus correctement, une virgule. La virgule après *πιστεύοντες* en *Refut. II*, 16, 102 (p. 137) manque en *Refut. I*, 42, 36 (p. 60) et en *Disp., Ep. Cant. I*, 4, 54 (p. 180). Après *οὐχί*, en *Refut. II*, 16, 104 (p. 137), on trouve un point en haut de la ligne, tandis que le même mot est suivi par une virgule en *Refut. I*, 42, 38 (p. 60) et en *Disp., Ep. Cant. I*, 4, 5, 56 (p. 180). Enfin, en *Refut. II*, 16 111-118 (p. 137), la section de *Πλὴν* jusqu'à *θεωρεῖται* est traitée comme un nouvel alinéa, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans les deux autres endroits (p. 60 et 181).

En dehors des ces quelques anomalies au niveau de la ponctuation, il n'y a que peu de chose à signaler. Tout d'abord, il nous semble qu'une faute d'itacisme est restée dans le texte (*παρενῆράν τινες*, là où l'orthographe classique demande *παρενεῖράν τινες* [*Refut. II*, 2, 31 (p. 113)]). Ensuite, en *Disp., Ep. Cant. V*, 16, 15 (p. 236), le vocatif *Ἀδελφοί* aurait pu être imprimé en italique, puisqu'il figure en *Rom. 8, 12*. Enfin, quelques bévues ont échappé à l'attention lors de la correction des épreuves : *Χριστὸς* au lieu de *Χριστός* (*Refut. I*, 31, 28 [p. 44]), *καταχέειν* (*ibid., I*, 47, 19 [p. 69]) et *το* au lieu de *τὸ* (*ibid., II*, 11, 28 [p. 126]).

Les mérites de ce beau volume sont infiniment plus nombreux que les imperfections que nous venons de dénoncer. Si un jour quelqu'un se décide à publier les autres ouvrages théologiques de Jean VI Cantacuzène, espérons qu'il fera de l'aussi bon travail que M. Tinnefeld !

José DECLERCK.

Byzance et l'essor de la Russie

John MEYENDORFF, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the fourteenth Century.* Cambridge, 1981. Cambridge University Press, 326 p.

L'historien bien connu des mouvements religieux nous donne un livre magistral, s'appuyant sur une solide bibliographie dans laquelle manquent cependant quelques travaux russes et soviétiques fondamentaux, sur le problème des relations entre une Byzance encore rayonnante certes, mais connaissant le déclin politique, économique, moral, et des principautés russes

sortant de l'épuisant joug tatare, parmi lesquelles émerge déjà comme puissance dominante Moscou, renforcée, comme le souligne à juste titre l'auteur (pp. 221-225) par la victoire de Kulikovo. Les rapports internationaux complexes, le rôle de l'Église et des métropolites (Cyprien) sont passés en revue avec pertinence. Dans l'ensemble, comme il est fréquemment de mise en Occident chez les théologiens, l'histoire est trop ramenée à celle des idées, à celle du christianisme et aux volontés politiques des souverains et des patriarches au détriment de l'histoire sociale et économique, mais il ne fait pas de doute que l'ouvrage pose avec érudition des problèmes importants et éclaire, quoique de façon encore incomplète, un moment crucial pour l'Europe de l'Est et l'Empire byzantin ; il n'acquiert en fait toute sa valeur que complété par les ouvrages de D. OBOLENSKY, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, et *The Byzantine Commonwealth*. D'autre part, sur le plan de l'histoire de l'art, puisqu'il est abordé, il eut été souhaitable de développer le riche domaine des liens byzantino-russes et de ne pas le limiter à l'influence hésychaste (pp. 138-144) : les résurgences antiques, perçues à travers le style paléologue, ont leur importance ...

Jean BLANKOFF.

Un ouvrage nouveau sur les peintures murales de Chypre

A. et J. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*. Londres, Trigraph, pour la Fondation Leventis, 1985. 1 vol. 18,5 × 26 cm, 517 pp., 301 figg. (25 coul.), 1 carte. Prix : non indiqué.

Il faut saluer avec enthousiasme la parution de la deuxième édition de ce livre. En fait, plus que d'une réédition, il s'agit d'un ouvrage neuf tant a augmenté le nombre d'informations sur les monuments déjà considérés dans l'édition de 1964, celui des églises elles-mêmes (37 en plus des 25 déjà étudiées) et celui des illustrations (301 au lieu de 76). L'investissement financier important que nécessitait l'ampleur nouvelle de la publication a été assumé par la Fondation A. G. Leventis dont un des buts est de contribuer à l'édition de travaux scientifiques sur le patrimoine culturel chypriote.

Étant donné le développement actuel de l'ouvrage certains aménagements auraient été souhaitables pour faciliter sa consultation ou pour accroître sa portée scientifique : les églises étant classées topographiquement un index des lieux (distinct de l'index iconographique) aurait été d'une consultation plus rapide ; une table détaillée des illustrations aurait été utile et, surtout, à défaut de notes, une bibliographie essentielle pour chaque monument serait indispensable.

Le livre s'ouvre par une double introduction ; celle qui concerne l'histoire est, à peu de choses près, celle de l'édition de 1964 ; par contre, celle qui se rapporte à *l'art byzantin et Chypre* a été amplifiée et nuancée en tenant compte des nouvelles découvertes et publications. L'art à Chypre y est pris en considération depuis les mosaïques antiques du IIIe siècle jusqu'à des pièces d'orfèvrerie postérieures à la conquête turque de 1570. L'accent est évidemment mis sur la peinture mais les arts somptuaires sont aussi évoqués et, pour chaque période, les différents types architecturaux rencontrés dans l'île sont énumérés. La présentation chronologique des principaux ensembles peints et leur intégration dans le contexte byzantin compense, du point de vue historique et stylistique, le fait que, dans le corps de l'ouvrage, les églises sont groupées par régions. Dans ce compte rendu, les noms des monuments nouveaux par rapport à l'édition de 1964 seront suivis d'un astérisque.

Dans la ligne de la tradition antique locale, la peinture paléochrétienne de Chypre comprend des mosaïques de pavement mais les œuvres les plus rares sont des mosaïques pariétales. Les Vierges des absides de la Panaghia Kanakaria de Lythrankomi et de la Panaghia Angeloktistos de Kiti (actuellement aussi datée du VIe s.) font depuis longtemps partie de l'histoire de la peinture byzantine, celle de la Panaghia Kyra de Livadia* est très fragmentaire mais elle est un témoin précieux du type de la Vierge orante dans une abside pré-iconoclaste (d'après A. H. Megaw, des archanges devaient l'entourer sur le mur oriental). À ces trois mosaïques, reprises par A. et J. Stylianou, on ajoutera un fragment d'archange d'une chapelle de la cathédrale de Kourion également publié par A. H. Megaw (*D.O.P.*, XXX, 1976, pp. 347, 371, fig. 10).

Les travaux de restauration menés de 1974 à 1977 à Ste.-Paraskévi de Yeroskipos par le Département des Antiquités ont révélé que cette église, connue pour ses peintures du XVe s., contenait aussi un décor aniconique au dessus de l'autel, des restes de peintures du Xe s. et d'une Dormition qui serait de la fin du XIIe s. Pour l'époque médio-byzantine, on notera encore les apports nouveaux de Haghia Mavra de Kyrenia* (Xe s.), de S.-Antoine de Kellia* (déb. XIe-XIIIe s.), des SS.-Joachim et Anne de Kaliana* (déb. XIIe s.), de la Panaghia Amasgou de Monagri* (première couches : déb. XIIe s. ; fin XIIe ou déb. XIIIe s.), de l'Archange Michel de Kato Lefkara* (fin XIIe s.) et d'Haghia Salomoni près de Paphos* (fin XIIe s., personnellement je daterais les peintures absidales ultérieurement, cf. *Kurbinovo*, p. 75). Les fresques d'Haghia Mavra de Rizokarpaso (XIIe s.) ne paraissent mentionnées dans aucune des deux éditions.

Malgré les réserves qu'ils expriment, les auteurs semblent rester attachés aux identifications «art antique – art classicisant» et «art monastique – art populaire», si souvent démenties par les monuments eux-mêmes. En ce qui concerne la peinture des Comnènes – dont les exemples chypriotes sont bien connus et particulièrement remarquables – l'accent est, à mon avis, exagérément mis sur son classicisme. Si, dans les premières peintures de S. Néophyte près de Paphos ou dans celles de la Panaghia Arakiotissa de Lagoudera, l'inspiration classique est sous-jacente comme toujours dans les meilleures créations byzantines, la formulation stylistique est celle d'un maniérisme extrêmement raffiné. L'appellation «style classicisant» me paraît d'autant moins convenir que, dans l'ouvrage même, ces fresques sont mises plusieurs fois en rapport avec le style «agité» ou «baroque» de la capitale.

Durant l'occupation latine, de nombreuses églises monastiques ou rurales furent décorées de peintures byzantines. La Panaghia de Moutoullas (1280) en est un des exemples les plus intéressants. Au XIVe s., plusieurs ensembles reflètent l'art des Paléologues sans atteindre toujours un haut niveau. Parmi les meilleures réalisations, certaines prolongent l'art des Comnènes (S. Euphemianus de Lysi* ou saints en pied de S. Nicolas-du-Toit à Kakopetria), tandis que d'autres témoignent d'un sens nouveau de la plasticité (Sainte-Croix à Palaea). Les fresques de la chapelle de «Palaea Enkleistra» près de Kouklia*, dont certaines figures (comme le Christ de la Trinité) évoquent directement l'art métropolitain, sont mises en rapport avec le règne d'Hélène Paléologue, fille du despote de Morée, nièce du futur Constantin XI, et reine de Chypre de 1442 à 1458. La période vénitienne (1489-1571) atteste un regain d'activité des peintres grecs. La qualité des décorations murales exécutées au XVIe s. à Chypre apparaît comme une des révélations de l'illustration de ce livre qui leur consacre d'ailleurs plusieurs photographies en couleurs. C'est alors surtout que Chypre exploita l'héritage des Paléologues (église de la Dormition de Kourdali, de la Transfiguration de Palaeochorio, Catholikon de S.-Néophyte de Paphos), mais c'est aussi le moment où, comme dans la peinture crétoise, se réalisèrent des œuvres d'un style italo-byzantin (Panaghia Podithou de Galata, Ste-Paraskévi de Yeroskipos ou «Chapelle latine» de S.-Jean Lampadistis à Kalopanayiotis).

Les monuments situés en zone turque depuis l'occupation de 1974 ont été décrits d'après des notes et des photographies prises avant cette date.

La bibliographie – que l'on regrettera encore une fois de ne pas trouver liée à l'étude de chaque monument – est à peu près complète jusqu'aux environs de 1976 (date du Congrès International d'Études byzantines d'Athènes). Quelques mises à jour ont été faites jusqu'en 1981. Je me

permettrai de relever, dans la bibliographie générale, l'absence de mon livre sur Kurbinovo (Bruxelles, Éd. de Byzantion, 1975) où, cependant une part importante est réservée aux peintures chypriotes. Parmi les publications trop récentes pour figurer dans la bibliographie sur Chypre, on notera spécialement pour leur ampleur : D. MOURIKI, *The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus*, dans *Byzanz und der Westen*, Éd. I. HUTTER, Vienne, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984, pp. 171-213 ; T. VELMANS, *Quelques programmes iconographiques des coupoles chypriotes*, dans *C.A.*, XXXII, 1984, pp. 137-162 et plusieurs textes du recueil *Cipro e il Mediterraneo orientale, XXXII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, 1985.

L'abondante documentation photographique révèle des peintures inconnues ou peu connues de monuments déjà publiés dans la première édition ; elle met l'accent sur des thèmes rarement photographiés comme ceux du Keramion et du Mandylion et présente de façon significative les peintures des églises ajoutées dans l'édition de 1985. Toutes les photographies sont des auteurs et sont d'excellente qualité mais l'impression grise et sans contraste de plusieurs planches en noir et blanc n'est pas toujours à la hauteur des documents. Les planches en couleurs, elles, sont très bonnes.

Par le nombre de monuments publiés, par la richesse des données nouvelles et des illustrations, ce livre, fruit d'une multiple et longue enquête, est indispensable à ceux qui étudient la peinture byzantine.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH.

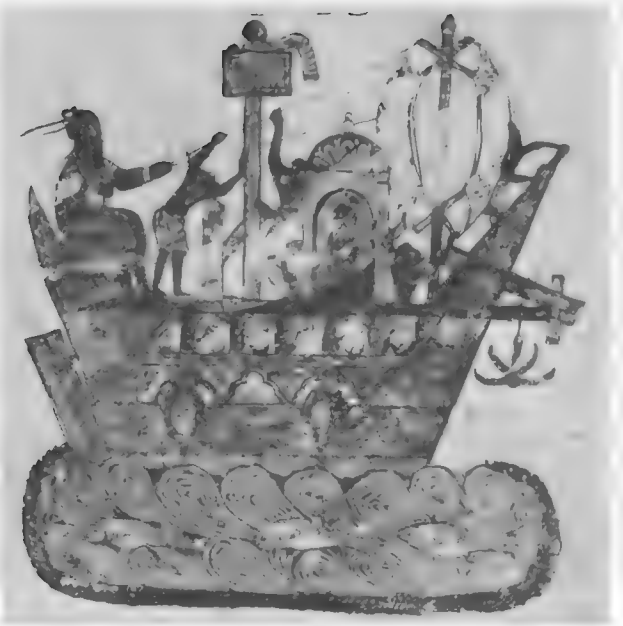


FIG. 1. – Moslem merchant ship illumination. The Ḥarīrī Ar. MS 5847, A.D. 1237. National Library of Paris. Axial stern rudder. Look-out man. Well defined cabins. Long-raking stem. *The World of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, London, 1976, fig. 15.

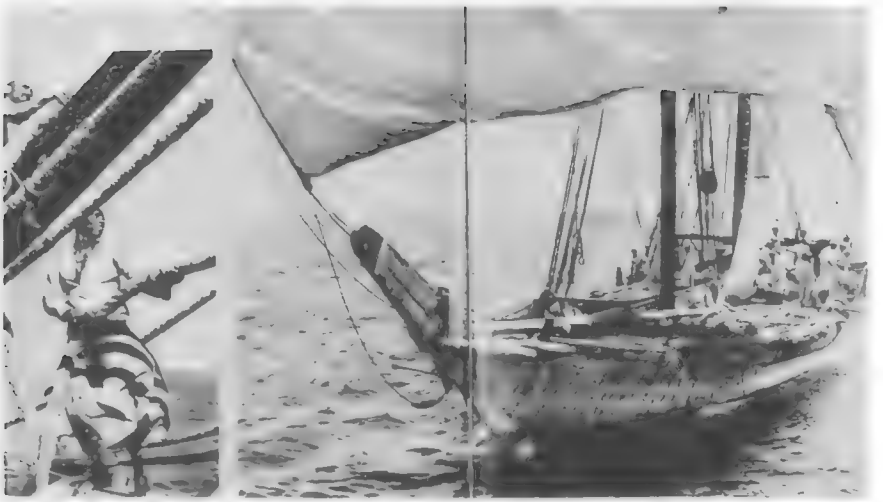


FIG. 2. – Modern Arab dhow, B. LANDSTROM, *The Ship* (1961), 212.

FIG. 3. – Modern Arab vessel of the Persian Gulf, *Arab Anchor*, 5 (1983), p. 20. The crew is dancing under the guidance of their singer (nahhām).

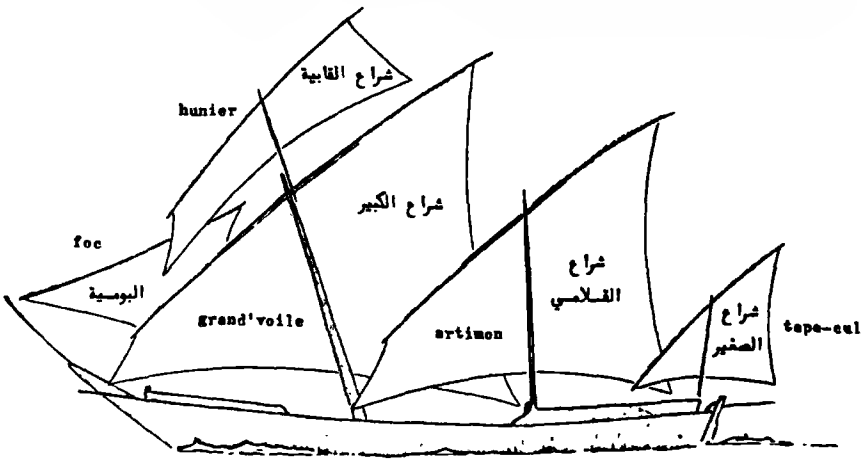


FIG. 4. – H. Grosset-Granges' drawing of a modern Arab vessel of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. "Comment naviguent aujourd'hui les Arabes de l'Océan Indien ?", fig. 3.

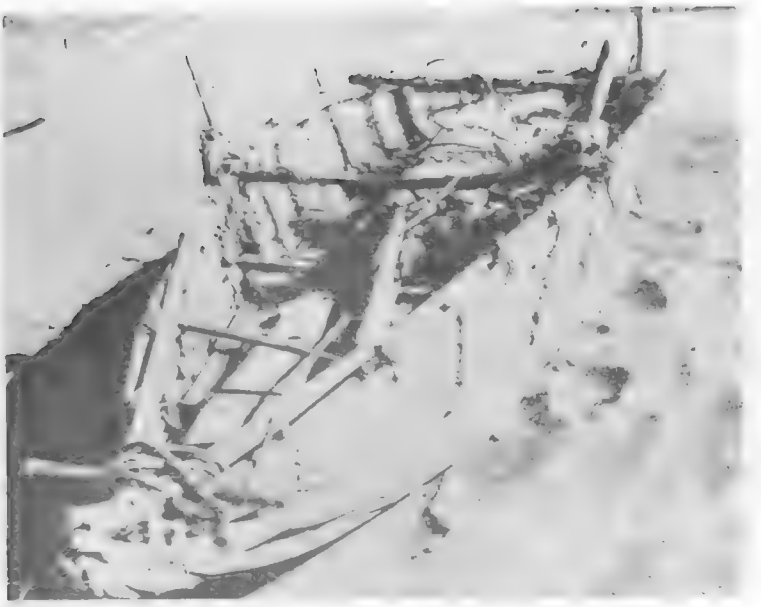


FIG. 5. – Typical view of the reed canoe of Kuweit.
Le Baron Bowen, "Primitive". Pl. 17.

FIG. 6. – Riverboat of Euphrates. One single steering oar, Ḥarīrī manuscript, *Trésors d'Orient*, ed. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1973.

FIG. 7. — The seal of Wismar, c. 1250. Sleeswyk and Lehman, "Pintle", fig. 3.

FIG. 8. — Commentary of the Apocalypse, 1242. Axial post stern rudder. Lefebre DES NOËTTES, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, Paris, 1935, pl. XLII.

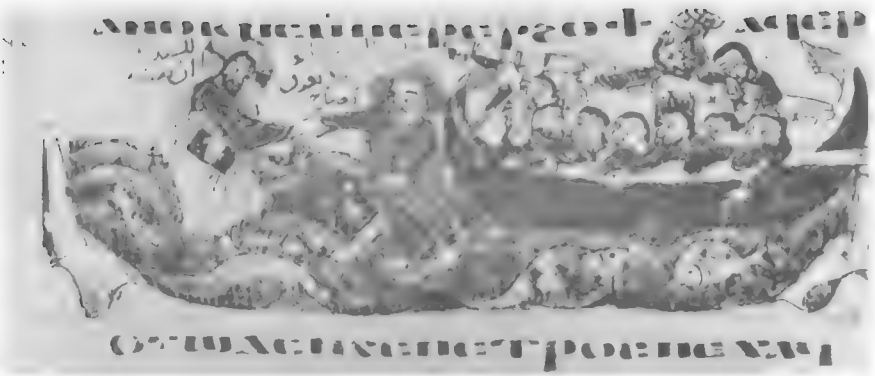


FIG. 9. – Egyptian ship. Axial stern side rudder. Coptic manuscript illumination (1179-80 A.D.). Paris Bibl. Nat. Copte 13, f. 41v.

FIG. 10. – Passengers in clearly defined cabins. Crew of a cargo ship, Illumination. Ḥarīrī Ar. MS. *The World of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, London, 1976, fig. 23.

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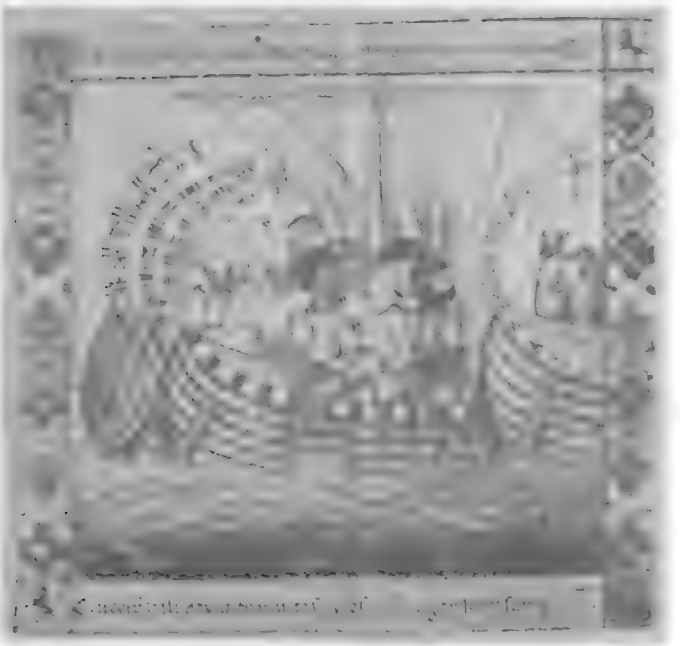

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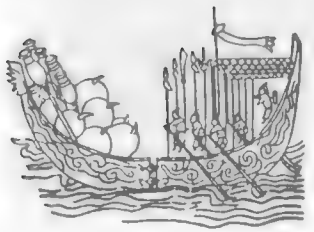

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FIG. 11. – War machine launching qarrūras. Illumination. Khizānah as-Silāḥ, ed. N. M. Abdel Aziz, Cairo, 1978, p. 70.

FIG. 12. – Illumination from a 12th century Spanish manuscript, depicting black slave oarsmen. C. BRINTON *et al.*, *A History of Civilization*, I (1984), p. 237.

FIG. 13. – Chinese fire ship of the burlot type. Illustration of the "Lien Huan Chou" from the Chinese military treatise by Mao Yuan-yi and Li Pan of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1522).

FIG. 1. — Icon, Church of the Virgin, Haret Zuwaila, Cairo.

FIG. 3. – Angel of the Annunciation from Cairo Icon.

FIG. 4. — Virgin of the Annunciation from Cairo Icon.

FIG. 5. – Virgin and Child with Archangels from Cairo Icon.

FIG. 6. – Nativity/Adoration, Detail, Cairo Icon.

FIG. 7. – Nativity/Adoration, Detail, Cairo Icon.

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